THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL;

FOR

APRIL 1804.....JULY 1804.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. IV.

EDINBURGH PRINTED.

NEW-YORK:

REPRINTED FOR EASTBURN, KIRK & CO.

Corner of Wall and Nassau-streets.

SOLD BY WM WELLS, BOSTON; E F. BACKUS, ALBANY; E. J. COALE, BALTIMORE; THOMAS DOBSON, E. EARLE, AND JOHN F WATSON, PHILADELPHIA; HOWE & DEFOREST, NEW-HAVEN; G. SHELDON & CO. HARTFORD; ROUSMANIERE & BARBER, NEWPORT; D FENTON, TRENTON; W. E. NORMAN, HUDSON; FITZWHYLSONN & POTTER, RICHMOND; W. F. GRAY, FREDERICKSBURGH; JOHN MILL, CHARLESTON; SEYMOUR & WILLIAMS, SAVANNAH.

Printed by D. & G. Bruce.

1814.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

APRIL 1804.

NO. VII.

ART. I. *Traités de Legislation Civile et Penale; precedés de Principes Generaux de Legislation, et d'une Vue d'un Corps complet de Droit; terminés par un Essai sur l'Enfluence des tems et des lieux relativement aux Lois.* Par M. Jeremie Bentham, Jurisconsulte Anglois. Publiés en Francois par M. Dumont de Geneve, d'après les Manuscrits confiés par l'Auteur. 8vo. 3 tom. Paris, an X. 1802.

THE title page of this work exhibits a curious instance of the division of labour, and of the combinations that hold together the literary commonwealth of Europe. A living author consents to give his productions to the world in the language of a foreign editor; and the speculations of an English philosopher are published at Paris under the direction of a *redacteur* from Geneva. This arrangement is not the most obvious or natural in the world; nor is it very flattering to the literature of this country; but we have no doubt that it was adopted for sufficient reasons.

It is now about fifteen years since Mr. Bentham first announced to the world his design of composing a great work on the principles of morals and legislation. The specimen which he then gave of his plan, and of his abilities, was calculated, we think, to excite considerable expectation and considerable alarm in the reading part of the community. While the author displayed in many places, great originality and accuracy of thinking, and gave proofs throughout of a very uncommon degree of acuteness and impartiality, it was easy to perceive that he was incumbered with the magnitude of his subject, and that his habits of discussion were but ill adapted to render it popular with the greater part of his readers. Though fully possessed of his subject, he scarcely ever appeared to be master of it, and seemed evidently to move in his new career with great anxiety and great exertion. In the subordi-

nate details of his work, he is often extremely ingenious, clear, and satisfactory; but in the grouping and distribution of these parts, he is apparently irresolute or capricious; and he has multiplied and distinguished them by such a profusion of divisions and subdivisions, that the understanding is nearly as much bewildered from the excessive labour and complexity of the arrangement, as it could have been from its absolute omission. In following out the discussions into which he is tempted by every incidental suggestion, he is so anxious to fix and to limit an ultimate principle of judgement, that he not only loses sight of the general scope of his performance, but pushes his metaphysical analysis to a degree of subtlety and minuteness that must prove repulsive to the greater part of his readers. In the extent and the fineness of these speculations, he sometimes appears to lose all recollection of his subject, and often seems to task his ingenuity to weave snares for his understanding.

The powers and the peculiarities which were thus indicated by the preliminary treatise, were certainly such as to justify some solicitude as to the execution of the principal work. While it was clear that it would be well worth reading, it was doubtful if it would be capable of being read: and while it was certain that it would contain many admirable remarks, and much profound and original reasoning, there was some room for apprehending that the author's propensity to artificial arrangement and metaphysical distinctions might place his discoveries beyond the reach of ordinary students, and repel the curiosity which the importance of the subject was so likely to excite. Actuated probably, in part, by the consciousness of those propensities (which nearly disqualified him from being the editor of his own speculations), and still too busily occupied with the prosecution of his great work, to attend to the nice finishing of its parts, Mr. Bentham, about six years ago, put into the hands of M. Dumont a large collection of manuscripts, containing the greater part of the reasonings and observations which he proposed to embody into his projected system. These materials, M. Dumont assures us, though neither arranged nor completed, were rather redundant than defective in quantity, and left nothing to the *redacteur*, but the occasional labour of selection, arrangement, and compression. This task he has performed as to a considerable part of the papers entrusted to him in the work now before us; and has certainly given a very fair specimen both of the merit of the original speculations, and of his own powers of expression and distribution. There are some passages, perhaps, into which a degree of flippancy has been introduced, that does not harmonise with the

general tone of the composition, and others in which we miss something of that richness of illustration and homely vigour of reasoning which delighted us in Mr. Bentham's original publications; but in point of neatness and perspicuity, conciseness and precision, we have no sort of doubt that M. Dumont has been of the most essential service to his principal, and are inclined to suspect that, without this assistance, we should never have been able to give any account of his labours.

The plan which Mr. Bentham has chalked out for himself in this undertaking, is more vast and comprehensive, we believe, than was ever ventured upon before by the ambition of any one individual. It embraces almost every thing that is important in the science of human nature, and not only touches upon all the higher questions of government and legislation, but includes most of the abstract principles of ethics and metaphysics, and professes to delineate those important rules by which the finest speculations of philosophy may be made to exert their influence on the actual condition of society. M. Dumont has exhibited, in his preface, a short catalogue of the articles which Mr. Bentham has enabled him to finish by delivering the manuscripts to his custody; and declares that they form but a part of the gigantic system upon which he is still engaged. What Mr. Bentham has already executed, is as follows: 1. The general principles of morals and legislation: 2. The principles of law as applicable to civil questions: 3. The principles of criminal law: 4. A detailed code of criminal law *in terminis*: 5. The principles of a code of remuneratory law: 6. A plan for the organization of the judiciary function: 7. A complete system of legal procedure, comprehending the whole law of evidence, and all the forms of litigation: 8. A system of political œconomy: and 9. A system of tactics for legislative assemblies, or of the rules according to which they should be constituted and should conduct their deliberations. There are, besides, six separate treatises on 'Invention in the Science of Legislation; on the art of accommodating law to a change of time or place; on the methods of promulgating the law,' &c. &c. The present volumes do not by any means contain the whole of these dissertations; but M. Dumont assures us, that all the materials are in his hands, and that he has already brought them into such form and order, as to secure their successive publication at no great distance of time.

The work now before us consists of four principal parts. 1. A general view of the principles of legislation, composed, in a good degree, from 'the Introduction' formerly published in

English in 1789: 2. A general sketch of the complete system of laws which Mr. Bentham proposes to erect upon those principles: 3. The application of those principles to the law in civil questions: and, 4. The application of the same principles to the law with regard to crimes. To these are added, three detached treatises; one on the establishment of a new sort of house of correction, to be called the *Panoptique;* another on the method of promulgating the law; and the third on the influence of time and place in questions of legislation. From this short account of the contents of this publication, our readers will easily perceive that the merit of the whole system must depend upon the soundness of the principles upon which it is professedly founded, and that the character of the book must be determined, in a great degree, by the manner in which the *first part* of it is executed. As the subjects which are there treated of, are of the greatest interest in themselves, and as they are discussed in a manner which the author at least conceives to be perfectly original, we shall endeavour to lay before our readers, a full view, both of the doctrines which he has delivered, and of the observations which have been suggested to us by their perusal.

M. Dumont, who has more than the common right of an editor to be partial to the work he has brought into the world, is persuaded that this publication must make an epoch and a revolution in the science of which it treats; and assures us, that the 'Introduction,' upon the principles of which it is founded, though not hitherto distinguished by any great share of popular applause, is already considered in that light by the small number of competent judges by whom its merits have been appreciated. To this privilege, he says, Mr. Bentham's speculations are entitled, because they have set the example of a new method of philosophising in politics and morality, and because they contain the elements of a new system of logic, by means of which ethics and legislation are for the first time advanced to the dignity of a *science.* These pretensions, it cannot be denied, are sufficiently magnificent; and the confidence with which they are announced, naturally leads us to inquire into the facts by which they are supported.

The principle upon which the whole of Mr. Bentham's system depends is, that *utility*, and utility alone, is the criterion of right and wrong, and ought to be the sole object of the legislator. This principle, he admits, has often been suggested, and is familiarly recurred to both in action and deliberation: but he maintains that it has never been pursued with sufficient steadiness and resolution, and that the necessity of assuming it as the exclusive test of our

proceedings has never been sufficiently understood. There are two principles, he alleges, that have been admitted to a share of that moral authority which belongs of right to that of utility alone, and have exercised a control over the conduct and opinions of society, by which legislators have been very frequently misled. The one of these he denominates the *ascetic principle*, or that which enjoins the mortification of the senses as a duty, and proscribes their gratification as a sin; and the other, which has had a much more extensive influence, he calls *the principle of sympathy or antipathy*, under which name he comprehends all those systems which place the basis of morality in the indications of a moral sense, or in the maxims of a rule of right, or which, under any other form of expression, decide upon the propriety of human actions by any internal, unaccountable feelings, without any view to their consequences. In this place he introduces, by way of parenthesis, a technical enumeration of the sources and causes of antipathy, of which he reckons six—the repugnance of the senses—mortified pride—disappointed endeavours, &c. &c.

He then sets himself to show that these principles have in many instances superseded the lawful authority of utility in the laws of most countries; and imputes to this cause the illusion which has led so many legislators to neglect the substantial happiness of their country, while they limited all their exertions to the promotion of its riches, its power, or its freedom

In the next place he combats, with great ability, the arguments of those who have affected to consider the principle of utility as a dangerous guide for our conduct, and endeavours to show that such reasonings really amount to a contradiction in terms; since, to say of any action that it is hurtful, dangerous, or improper, is just to say that it cannot have been adopted upon the principle of utility.

As utility is thus assumed as the test and standard of action and approbation, and as it consists in procuring pleasure, and avoiding pain, Mr. Bentham has thought it necessary, in this place, to introduce a catalogue of all the pleasures and pains of which man is susceptible, since these, he alleges, are the elements of that moral calculation in which the wisdom and the duty of legislators and individuals must ultimately be found to consist. The simple pleasures of which man is susceptible are fourteen in number, and are thus enumerated—1. pleasures of sense: 2. of wealth: 3. of dexterity: 4. of good character: 5. of friendship: 6. of power: 7. of piety: 8. of benevolence: 9. of malevolence: 10. of memory: 11. of imagination: 12. of hope: 13. of association: 14. of relief from pain. The pains,

our readers will be happy to hear, are only eleven, and are almost exactly the counterpart of the pleasures that have now been enumerated. The construction of these catalogues M. Dumont considers as by far the greatest improvement that has yet been made in the philosophy of human nature.

It is chiefly by the fear of pain that men are regulated in the choice of their deliberate actions; and Mr. Bentham finds that pain may be attached to particular actions in four different ways: 1. by nature: 2. by public opinion: 3. by positive enactment: and 4. by the doctrines of religion. Our institutions will be perfect when all these different sanctions are in harmony with each other.

The most difficult part of our author's task remains. In order to make any use of these 'elements of moral arithmetic,' which are constituted by the lists of our pleasures and pains, it was evidently necessary to ascertain their relative value, so as to enable him to proceed in his legislative calculations with some degree of assurance. Under this head, however, we are only told that the value of a pleasure or a pain, considered in itself, depends, 1. upon its intensity, 2. upon its proximity, 3. upon its duration, and 4. upon its certainty; and that, considered with a view to its consequences, its value is farther affected, 1. by its *fecundity*, *i. e.* its tendency to produce other pleasures or pains; 2. by its *purity*, *i. e.* its being unmixed with other sensations; and 3. by the number of persons to whom it may extend. These considerations, however, the author justly considers as inadequate for his purpose; for, by what means is the *intensity* of any pain or pleasure to be measured, and how, without this knowledge, are we to proportion punishments to temptations, or adjust the measures of recompense or indemnification? To solve this problem, Mr. Bentham seems to have had recourse to his favourite system of enumeration, and to have thought nothing else necessary than to make out a fair catalogue of 'the circumstances by which the sensibility is affected.' These he divides into two branches—the primary and the secondary. The first he determines to be exactly fifteen, viz. temperament—health—strength—bodily imperfection—intelligence—strength of understanding—fortitude—perseverance—dispositions—notions of honour—notions of religion—sympathies—antipathies—folly or derangement—fortune. The secondary circumstances that determine the degree of sensibility to good and evil, are only nine, *viz.* sex—age—rank—education—profession—climate—creed—government—religious creed. By attending to these circumstances, Mr. Bentham is of opinion that

we may be able to estimate the value of any particular pleasure or pain to an individual, with sufficient exactness, to judge of the comparative magnitude of crimes, and of the proportionate amount of pains and compensations.

He now comes a little closer to his subject, and enters into an examination of the nature of those evils which it is the business of the legislator to prevent or alleviate. Evils are then arranged, with Mr. Bentham's usual partiality for classification, under a great variety of divisions. Evils *of the first order*, are those which fall immediately upon one or a few specific individuals; *evils of the second order*, are those that fall upon entire classes of men under some particular description; and *evils of the third order*, are those that affect the condition of the whole community where they occur. Murder or theft is an instance of the first; persecution or cruelty to heretics, priests, rich men, parents, &c. &c. of the second; and all sorts of disorder and mismanagement, by which the security of the whole community is endangered, are instances of the third. Evils of the first order may be analysed into the *primitive*, or direct evil to the sufferer himself; and the *derivative*, or consequential evil that results to those connected with him, from the effects of his suffering. Evils of the second order consist, again, chiefly either in the *alarm* which is necessarily felt by all that description of persons upon whom it threatens to fall, or the *danger* which may actually exist in a degree either greater or smaller than the alarm. Evils of the third order are produced altogether by the alarm and apprehension of danger, which relaxes the exertions of industry, and gives a check to every sort of prosperity or improvement. Evils are also distinguished by Mr. Bentham into such as are either immediate or consequential—extensive or divisible—permanent or evanescent, &c.; but we do not observe that these distinctions, which indeed are capable of being multiplied to infinity, are made the basis of any part of his system.

Mr. Bentham is now arrived at the proper object of his reasoning. Certain actions should be prevented, because they give rise to pains or evils; and to those under the name of crimes, the interests of society require certain punishments to be applied, in order to repress and prevent them effectually. But no action is deliberately performed by any reasonable creature, without the expectation of consequential good or pleasure to himself; and this pleasure is to be taken into account in fixing the measure of punishment, or bestowing the appellation of guilt. The construction of the criminal code comes then entirely to be a matter of calculation. The gratification of the delinquent individual is to

be taken into account on the one hand, and the suffering of the offended party on the other; and it is only where the latter evidently preponderates, that the act should be denominated a crime. In this comparison it will generally be found, that actions have been stigmatised as criminal, much more on account of the evil of *the second order* they produce, by the alarm and danger which they occasion to every one in a similar situation with the sufferer, than on account of the direct detriment that is sustained by the sufferer individually. In the case of offences against property, for instance, it may frequently happen that the gratification of the robber is fully greater than the mortification of the person whom he plunders; but the alarm and danger that would result from the impunity of such actions makes the whole mass of evil incomparably greater than that of good, and justifies the severe sanctions by which law has generally endeavoured to repress such acts of depredation.

In these particulars, Mr. Bentham thinks that the principles of legislation and morality exactly coincide: the object of both is the same—the multiplication of human pleasures, and the diminution of pains. What then is the difference between the two codes, and how are their mutual limits to be ascertained? Legislation, Mr. Bentham conceives, is merely morality invested with power; but this power it cannot exercise up to the very limits to which morality would carry its sanction of disapprobation. The reasons why law must always fall short of perfect justice, are, 1. Because law must operate chiefly by punishments, which are evils in themselves; and that, to enact positive punishments for many noxious actions which are either easily concealed or of slight importance, would be to create a greater evil for the purpose of repressing a smaller one: and 2. Because many offences consisting in degree and continuance, such as unkindness, ingratitude, &c. are really incapable of being defined or established with precision, so that any law against them would either be ineffectual, or would produce more uneasiness by the general dread of prosecution, than it could cure by the example. Mr. Bentham then goes on to shew, that moral duties may be divided into prudence, probity, and benevolence. The first requires no sanction on the part of the legislature; the second is the proper sphere of law; and the third, though it may in general be left to the wisdom and the feeling of every individual, may yet be enforced by law in a greater number of cases than lawgivers have hitherto provided for. Instances of barbarous unkindness, and acts of cruelty to animals, ought, according to Mr. Bentham, to be classed among offences cognisable by the law.

This properly completes Mr. Bentham's general view of the principles of legislation. But in order to impress his readers more strongly with a sense of their importance and novelty, he proceeds, in a very long and a very able chapter, to exemplify and expose the various errors into which legislators have been led, by taking for their guide some other principle than that of utility. This chapter is divided into ten sections, under each of which he gives an instance of some false principle that has occasionally been permitted to interfere with those strict notions of utility by which the legislature ought to have been uniformly directed. Thus he says, 1. The antiquity of a law is no reason for adhering to it: 2. The pretended authority of religion is no sufficient ground for legislation: 3. The dread of innovation is no ground for withholding improvements: 4. An arbitrary definition can never be received as a reason for the authority of law: When Montesquieu defined the laws to be '*eternal* relations,' and when Rousseau called them 'the expression of the general will,' they both endeavoured to found, upon arbitrary assumptions, that authority which is only due to their acknowledged utility. 5. A metaphor is no reason for a law. In Mr. Bentham's opinion, however, the proceedings of many wise legislatures have been governed by such slight analogies. In England a man's house is his *castle*, and therefore it is to protect him even against the officers of the law. In Italy a church is *the house of God*, in which criminals may therefore defy the justice of men. The ideas unluckily associated with such phrases as 'the balance of trade,'—'mother country,' &c. have given rise, according to Mr. Bentham, to a great number of absurd regulations. 6. A law should never be supported by *fictions:* corruption of blood, the sovereign's ubiquity, immortality, &c. and the imaginary *contracts* upon which many writers have founded the whole fabric of society, are bad synonyms, or worse substitutes for utility. 7. A fantastic reason is no reason for a law. Why should a father have authority over his children, *because* they are born in his house, or *because* they are formed of his substance? The true reason is the utility. 8. Antipathies, or sympathies, are no reasons for an enactment: if they are founded in experience of utility, it is more satisfactory to go at once to the foundation: if they cannot be justified on that ground, they should have no authority whatsoever. 9. Assumption of the points in dispute, is no reason for a law. If luxury be defined a vicious or excessive indulgence in pleasure, then it certainly ought to be repressed; but before any law is made to repress it, it should be proved that it is really vicious; that is, that it is productive of evil. *Lastly,* A real law can never be justified by appealing to

the authority of an imaginary one. It is saying nothing, to say that the *law of nature*, or the rule of right, requires such and such an enactment. These high-sounding words mean nothing more than the private opinion or inclination of the individual who uses them. Every reason, in short, that can be given for any enactment or institution, must either resolve itself into the assertion of its utility, or be rejected as pernicious. The legislator has but one simple maxim to observe—to repress all those actions which tend to produce more pain than pleasure, and to promote all those which produce more pleasure than pain.

Having thus endeavoured to lay before our readers a very concise, but, we hope, a tolerably full and distinct account of Mr. Bentham's principles of legislation, we shall now take the liberty of making a few of those observations, which could not have been stated before, without breaking the connexion of the subject, and obscuring the evidence upon which the system is founded. The first remark that suggests itself is, that if there is little that is false or pernicious in this system, there is little that is either new or important. That laws were made to promote the general welfare of society, and that nothing should be enacted which has a different tendency, are truths that can scarcely claim the merit of novelty, or mark an epoch by the date of their promulgation. The technical apparatus which Mr. Bentham has employed to enforce these tenets upon his readers, appears to us to have been altogether unnecessary; and we have not yet been able to discover that it can be of any service in improving their practical application. There are many things, indeed, that seem to be very inaccurately laid down in the detail of these principles, and a still greater number that are assumed with too little limitation.

The basis of the whole system is the undivided sovereignty of the principle of utility, and the necessity which there is for recurring strictly to it in every question of legislation. Moral feelings, it is admitted, will frequently be found to coincide with it; but they are on no account to be trusted to, till this coincidence has been verified; they are no better than sympathies and antipathies, mere private and unaccountable feelings, that may vary in the case of every individual; and therefore can afford no fixed standard for general approbation or enjoyment. We cannot help thinking, that this fundamental proposition is very defective, both in logical consistency, and in substantial truth. In the first place, it seems very obvious to remark, that the principle of utility is liable to the same objections, on the force of which the authority of moral impressions has been so positively denied. How shall utility itself be recognised, but by a *feeling* similar to that which

is stigmatised as capricious and unaccountable? How are pleasures and pains, and the degrees and relative magnitude of pleasures and pains to be distinguished, but by the feeling and experience of every individual? And what greater certainty can there be in the accuracy of such determinations, than in the results of other feelings no less general and distinguishable? If right and wrong be not precisely the same to every individual, neither are pleasure and pain; and if there be despotism and absurdity in imposing upon another one's own impressions of wisdom and propriety, it cannot be just and reasonable to erect a standard of enjoyment, and a rule of conduct, upon the narrow basis of our own measure of sensibility. It is evident, therefore, that by assuming the principle of utility, we do not get rid of the risk of variable feeling; and that we are still liable to all the uncertainty that may be produced by this cause, under the influence of any other principle.

The truth is, however, that this uncertainty is in all cases of a very limited nature, and that the common impressions of morality, the vulgar distinctions of right and wrong, virtue and vice, are perfectly sufficient to direct the conduct of the individual, and the judgement of the legislator, without any reference to the nature or origin of those distinctions. In many respects, indeed, we conceive them to be fitter for this purpose than Mr. Bentham's oracles of utility. In the first place, it is necessary to observe, that it is a very gross and unpardonable mistake to represent those notions of right and wrong as depending altogether upon the private and capricious feelings of an individual. Certainly no man was ever so arrogant or so foolish, as to insist upon establishing his own individual persuasion as an infallible test of duty and wisdom to all the rest of the world. The moral feelings, of which Mr. Bentham would make so small account, are the feelings which observation teaches us to impute to all men; those in which, under every variety of circumstances, they are found pretty constantly to agree, and as to which their uniformity may be reasoned and reckoned upon with almost as much security as in the case of their external perceptions. The existence of such feelings, and the uniformity with which they are excited in all men by the same occasions, are facts that admit of no dispute; and, in point of certainty and precision, we have seen already, that they are exactly on a footing with those perceptions of utility that can only be relied on after they have been verified by a similar process of observation. Now, we are inclined to think, in opposition to Mr. Bentham, that a legislator will proceed more safely by following the indications of those moral distinctions as

to which all men are agreed, than if he resolves to set them altogether at defiance, and to be guided by nothing but those perceptions of utility which he must collect from the same general agreement. It is now, we believe, universally admitted, that nothing can be generally the object of moral approbation, which does not tend, upon the whole, to the good of mankind; and we are not even disposed to dispute with Mr. Bentham, that the true source of this moral approbation is in all cases a perception or experience of utility in the action or object which excites it. The difference between us, however, is considerable; and it is precisely this—Mr. Bentham maintains, that in all cases we ought to disregard the presumptions arising from moral approbation, and, by a resolute and scrupulous analysis, to get at the naked utility upon which it is founded; and then, by the application of his new moral arithmetic, to determine its quantity, its composition, and its value, and, according to the result of this investigation, to regulate our moral approbation for the future. We, on the other hand, are inclined to hold, that these feelings, where they are uniform and decided, are by far the surest tests of the quantity and value of the utility by which they are suggested; and that if we discredit their report, and attempt to ascertain this value by any formal process of calculation or analysis, we desert a safe and natural standard, in pursuit of one for the construction of which we have yet no rules nor materials. A very few observations, we trust, will set this in a clear light.

The amount, degree, or intensity of any pleasure or pain, is ascertained by feeling, and not determined by reason or reflection. These feelings are transitory in their own nature, and are not easily recalled with such precision as to enable us, upon recollection, to adjust their relative values. When they present themselves, however, in combinations, or in rapid succession, their relative magnitude or intensity is perceived by the mind without any exertion, and rather by a sort of immediate feeling, than in consequence of any intentional comparison. When a particular combination or succession of such feelings is repeatedly suggested to the memory, the relative value of all its parts is perceived with great readiness and rapidity, and the general result is fixed in the mind without our being conscious of any act of reflection. In this way, moral maxims and impressions arise in the minds of all men, from an instinctive and involuntary valuation of the good and the evil which they perceive to be connected with certain actions or habits; and those impressions may safely be taken for the just result of that valuation which we may afterwards attempt unsuccessfully with great labour to repeat. They

may be compared, on this view of the matter, to those *acquired perceptions of sight* by which the eye is enabled to judge of distances; and by which we shall be much more safely and commodiously guided, within the range of our ordinary occupations, than by any formal scientific calculations, founded on the faintness of the colouring, and the magnitude of the angle of vision, compared with the average tangible bulk of the kind of object in question.

The comparative value of such good and evil, we have already observed, can be determined by seeing alone; so that the interference of technical and elaborate reasoning, though it may well be supposed to disturb those perceptions upon the accuracy of which the determination must depend, cannot in any case be of the smallest assistance. Where the preponderance of good or evil is distinctly felt by all persons to whom a certain combination of feelings has been suggested, we have all the evidence for the reality of this preponderance that the nature of the subject will admit, and must try in vain to traverse that judgment by any subsequent exertion of a faculty that has no jurisdiction in the cause. The established rules and impressions of morality, therefore, we consider as the grand recorded result of an infinite multitude of experiments upon human feeling under every variety of circumstances, and as affording by far the nearest approximation to a just standard of the good and the evil that human conduct is concerned with, which the nature of our faculties will allow. In endeavouring to correct or amend this general verdict of mankind in any particular instance, we not only substitute our own individual feelings for that large average which is implied in the prevalence of moral impressions, but we run the common risk of omitting or mistaking some of the most important elements of the calculation. Every one at all accustomed to reflect upon the operations of his mind, must be conscious how difficult it is to retrace exactly those trains of thought which pass through the understanding almost without giving us any intimation of their existence, and how impossible it frequently is to repeat any process of thought when we propose to make it the subject of observation. Our feelings are not in their natural state when we can study their aspects attentively; and their force and direction are better estimated from the traces which they leave in their spontaneous visitations, than from any forced revocation of them for the purpose of being measured or compared. When the object itself is inaccessible, it is wisest to compute its magnitude from its shadow: where the cause cannot be directly examined, its qualities are most securely inferred from its effects.

One of the most obvious consequences of disregarding the general impressions of morality, and determining every individual question upon a rigorous estimation of the utility it might appear to involve, would be, to give an additional force to the principles by which our judgments are apt to be perverted, and entirely to abrogate the authority of those *general rules* by which alone men are commonly enabled to judge of their own conduct with any tolerable degree of impartiality. If we were to dismiss altogether from our consideration those authoritative maxims which have been sanctioned by the general approbation of mankind, and to regulate our conduct entirely by a view of the good and the evil that promises to be the consequence of every particular action, there is reason to fear, not only that inclination might slip in a false weight into the scale, but that many of the most important consequences of our actions might be overlooked. Those actions are bad, according to Mr. Bentham, that produce more evil than good: but actions are performed by individuals, and all the good may be to the individual, and all the evil to the community. There are innumerable cases, in which the advantages to be gained by the commission of a crime are incalculably greater than the evils to which it may expose the criminal. This holds in almost every instance where unlawful passions may be gratified with very little risk of detection. A mere calculation of utilities would never prevent such actions; and the truth undoubtedly is, that the greater part of men are only withheld from committing them by those general impressions of morality, which it is the object of Mr. Bentham's system to supersede. Even admitting, what might very easily be denied, that, in all cases, the utility of the individual is inseparably connected with that of society, it will not be disputed, at least, that this connexion is of a nature not very striking or obvious, and that it may frequently be overlooked by an individual deliberating on the consequences of his projected actions. It is in aid of this oversight, of this omission, of this partiality, that we refer to the *general rules* of morality; rules, which have been suggested by a larger observation, and a longer experience, than any individual can dream of pretending to, and which have been accommodated by the joint action of our sympathies with delinquents and sufferers to the actual condition of human fortitude and infirmity. If they be founded on utility, it is on a utility that cannot always be discovered, and that can never be correctly estimated in deliberating upon a particular measure, or with a view to a specific course of conduct; it is on a utility that does not discover itself till it is accumulated, and only becomes apparent after a large

collection of examples have been embodied in proof of it. Such summaries of utility, such records of uniform observation, we conceive to be the *general rules of Morality*, by which, and by which alone, legislators or individuals can be safely directed in determining on the propriety of any course of conduct. They are observations taken in the calm, by which we must be guided in the darkness and the terror of the tempest; they are beacons and strongholds erected in the day of peace, round which we must rally, and to which we must betake ourselves in the hour of contest and alarm.

For these reasons, and for others which our limits will not permit us to hint at, we are of opinion, that the old established morality of mankind ought upon no account to give place to a bold and rigid investigation into the *utility* of any course of action that may be made the subject of deliberation; and that the safest and the shortest way to the good which we all desire, is the beaten highway of morality, which was formed at first by the experience of good and of evil.

But our objections do not apply merely to the foundation of Mr. Bentham's new system of morality: We think the plan and execution of the superstructure itself defective in many particulars. Even if we could be persuaded that it would be wiser in general to follow the dictates of utility than the impressions of moral duty, we should be fully at liberty to say that the system contained in these volumes does not enable us to adopt that substitute: it presents us with no means of measuring or comparing utilities. After perusing M. Dumont's eloquent observations on the incalculable benefits which his author's discoveries were to confer on the science of legislation, and on the genius and good fortune by which he had been enabled to reduce morality to the precision of a science, by fixing a precise standard for the good and evil of our lives, we proceeded with the perusal of Mr. Bentham's endless tables and divisions, with a mixture of impatience, expectation and disappointment. Now that we have finished our task, the latter sentiment alone remains; for we perceive very clearly, that M. Dumont's zeal and partiality have imposed upon his natural sagacity, and that Mr. Bentham has just left the science of morality in the same imperfect condition in which it was left by his predecessors. The whole of Mr. Bentham's catalogues and distinctions tend merely to point out the *number* of the causes that produce our happiness or misery, but by no means to ascertain their relative magnitude or force; and the only effect of their introduction into the science of morality seems to be, to embarrass a popular subject with a technical no-

menclature, and to perplex familiar truths with an unnecessary intricacy of arrangement. Of the justice of this remark, any one may satisfy himself, by turning back to the tables and classifications which we have exhibited in the former part of this analysis, and trying if he can find there any rules for estimating the comparative value of pleasures and pains, that are not perfectly familiar to the most uninstructed of the species. In the table of simple pleasures, for instance, what satisfaction can it afford, to find the pleasure of riches set down as a distinct genus from the pleasure of power and the pleasure of the senses, unless some scale were annexed by which the respective value of these pleasures might be ascertained? If a man is balancing between the pain of privation and the pain of shame, how is he relieved by finding these arranged under separate titles? or, in either case, will it give him any information to be told, that the value of a pain or pleasure depends upon its intensity, its duration, or its certainty? If a legislator is desirous to know whether murder or forgery be the greatest crime, will he be contented to hear that the evil of every crime is either of the first, the second, or the third order, and that all crimes produce the two first, and have a tendency to produce the latter also, if they be not vigorously repressed? If he wish to learn what degree of punishment is suitable to a particular offence, will he be greatly edified to read that the same punishment may be more or less severe according to the temperament, the intelligence, the rank, or the fortune of the delinquent; and that the circumstances that influence sensibility, though commonly reckoned to be only nine, may fairly be set down at fifteen? Is there any thing, in short, in this whole book, that realises the triumphant Introduction of the editor, or that can enable us in any one instance to decide upon the relative magnitude of an evil, otherwise than by a reference to the common feelings of mankind? It is true, we are perfectly persuaded, that by the help of these feelings, we can form a pretty correct judgement in most cases that occur; but Mr. Bentham is not persuaded of this; and insists upon our renouncing all faith in so incorrect a standard, while he promises to furnish us with another that is liable to no sort of inaccuracy. This promise we do not think he has fulfilled; because he has given us no rule by which the intensity of any pain or pleasure can be determined, and furnished us with no instrument by which we may take the altitude of enjoyment, or fathom the depths of sorrow. It is no apology for having made this promise, that its fulfilment was evidently impossible.

In multiplying these distinctions and divisions which form the basis of his system, Mr. Bentham appears to us to bear less re-

semblance to a philosopher of the present times, than to one of the old scholastic doctors who substituted classification for reasoning, and looked upon the ten categories as the most useful of all human inventions. Their distinctions were generally real as well as his, and could not have been made without the misapplication of much labour and ingenuity; but it is now generally admitted that they are of no use, either for the promotion of truth, or the detection of error; and that they only serve to point out differences that cannot be overlooked, or need not be remembered. There are many differences and many points of resemblance in all actions, and in all substances, that are absolutely indifferent in any serious reasoning that may be entered into with regard to them; and though much industry and much acuteness may be displayed in finding them out, the discovery is just as unprofitable to science as the enumeration of the adverbs in the creed, or the dissyllables in the decalogue, would be to theology. The greater number of Mr. Bentham's distinctions, however, are liable to objection, because they state, under an intricate and technical arrangement, those facts and circumstances only that are necessarily familiar to all mankind, and cannot possibly be forgotten on any occasion where it is of importance to remember them. In perusing his book, we frequently found it necessary to bestow a good deal of attention upon a distinction or proposition that, when it was fully apprehended turned out to be absolutely self-evident or obvious; and indeed we can scarcely remember any one of his practical maxims that can possibly be conceived to be overlooked for a moment by the legislators for whose illumination this work is intended. If bad laws have been enacted, it certainly is not from having forgotten that the good of society is the ultimate object of all law, or that it is absurd to repress one evil by the creation of a greater. Legislators have often bewildered themselves in the choice of means, but they have never so grossly mistaken the ends of their institution as to need to be reminded of these apparent truths.

If there be any part of Mr. Bentham's classification that can be supposed to assist us in appreciating the comparative value of pleasures and pains, it must certainly be his enumeration of the circumstances that affect the sensibility of individuals. Even if this table were to fulfil all that it promises, however, it would still leave the system fundamentally deficient, as it does not enable us to compare the relative amount of any two pleasures or pains to individuals in the same circumstances. In its particular application, however, it is no less defective; for though we are told

that temperament, intelligence, &c. should vary the degree of punishment or reward, we are not told to what extent, or in what proportions, it should be varied by these circumstances. Till this be done, however, it is evident that the elements of Mr. Bentham's moral arithmetic have no determinate value, and that it is perfectly impossible to work any practical problem in legislation by the help of them. It is scarcely necessary to add, that even if this were accomplished, and the cognisance of all these particulars distinctly enjoined by the law, the only effect would be, to introduce a puerile and fantastic complexity into our systems of jurisprudence, and to incumber judicial procedure with a multitude of frivolous observances. The circumstances, in consideration of which Mr. Bentham would have the laws vary the punishment, are so numerous and so indefinite, that it would require a vast deal more labour to ascertain their existence, than to establish the principal offence. The first is Temperament; and in a case of flogging, we suppose Mr. Bentham would remit a few lashes of the sentence to a sanguine and irritable delinquent, and lay on a few additional stripes on a phlegmatic or pituitous one. But how is the temperament to be given in evidence? or are the judges to aggravate or alleviate a punishment upon a mere inspection of the prisoner's complexion? Another circumstance that should affect the pain, is the offender's firmness of mind; and another his strength of understanding. How is a court to take cognisance of these qualities? or in what degree are they to affect their proceedings? If we are to admit such considerations into our law at all, they ought to be carried a great deal farther than Mr. Bentham has indicated; and it should be expressed in the statutes, what alleviation of punishment should be awarded to a culprit on account of his wife's pregnancy, or the colour of his children's hair. We cannot help thinking that the undistinguishing grossness of our actual practice is better than such foppery. We fix a punishment which is calculated for the common, average condition of those to whom it is to be applied; and, in almost all cases, we leave with the judge a discretionary power of accommodating it to any peculiarities that may seem to require an exception. After all, this is the most plausible part of Mr. Bentham's arrangements.

In what he has said of the false notions which legislators have frequently followed in preference to the polar light of utility, we think we discover a good deal of inaccuracy, and some little want of candour. Mr. Bentham must certainly be conscious that no one ever pretended that the mere antiquity of a law was a sufficient reason for retaining it in spite of its evident inutility;

but when the utility of parting with it is doubtful, its antiquity may fairly be urged as affording a presumption in its favour, and as a reason for being cautious at least in the removal of what must be incorporated with so many other institutions. We plead the antiquity of our constitution as an additional reason for not yielding it up to innovators: but nobody ever thought, we believe, of advancing this plea in support of the statutes against witchcraft. In the same way, we think there is more wit than reason in ascribing the errors of many legislators to their being misled by a metaphor. The metaphor, we are inclined to think, has generally arisen from the practice which Mr. Bentham would derive from it. The law of England respects the sanctity of a free citizen's dwelling, so much, as to yield it some privilege; and *therefore* an Englishman's house is called his castle. The piety or superstition of some nations has determined that a criminal cannot be arrested in a place of worship. This is the whole fact: the usage is neither explained nor convicted of absurdity, by saying that such people call a church the house of God. If it were the house of God, does Mr. Bentham conceive that it *ought* to be a sanctuary for criminals? In what is said of the fictions of law, there is much of the same misapprehension. Men neither are nor ever were misguided by these fictions; but the fictions are merely certain quaint and striking methods of expressing a rule that has been adopted in an apprehension of its utility. To deter men from committing treason, their offspring is associated to a certain extent in their punishment. The motive of this law is plain enough; and calling the effect 'corruption of blood,' will neither aggravate nor hide its injustice. When it is said that the heir is the same person with the deceased, it is but a pithy way of intimating that he is bound in all the obligations, and entitled to all the rights of his predecessor. That the King never dies, is only another phrase for expressing that the office is never vacant; and that he is everywhere, is true, if it be lawful to say that a person can act by deputy. In all these observations, and in many that are scattered through the subsequent part of his book, Mr. Bentham seems to forget that there is such a thing as common sense in the world, and to take it for granted, that if there be an opening in the letter of the law for folly, misapprehension, or abuse, its ministers will eagerly take advantage of it, and throw the whole frame of society into disorder and wretchedness. A very slight observation of the actual business of life might have taught him, that expediency may be readily and certainly discovered by those who are interested in finding it; and that in a certain

stage of civilization there is generated such a quantity of intelligence and good sense as to disarm absurd institutions of their power to do mischief, and to administer defective laws into a system of perfect equity. This is the grand corrective which remedies all the errors of legislators, and retrenches all that is pernicious in prejudice. It makes us independent of technical systems, and indifferent to speculative irregularities. He who could increase its quantity, or confirm its power, would do more service to mankind than all the philosophers that ever speculated on the means of their reformation.

As the subsequent part of Mr. Bentham's work is really in a considerable degree what it professes to be altogether, a detailed application of the preceding principles to the codes of civil and of criminal law, it will be less necessary for us, after so full an examination of those principles, to spend much time in the analysis of their application. There are scattered throughout the whole book a great number of profound remarks and acute and valuable suggestions: but many things are advanced with confidence, that appear to us to be very questionable; and the general plan and distribution of the subjects seems to be both artificial and imperfect.

Mr. Bentham's passion for classification and distinctions, manifests itself in a very striking way in the introductory chapter to the second part of his work, where he enumerates all the divisions of which law is susceptible, and delights himself with many puzzling remarks on the relative completeness of a distribution into internal and external law—civil and criminal—temporal and spiritual—substantive and adjective—general and particular—punishing and rewarding, &c. &c. &c.

In the following chapter we meet with a perplexity which, though more ingeniously produced, appears to us to be equally gratuitous. Mr. Bentham for a long time can see no distinction between civil and criminal jurisprudence, and insists upon it, that *rights* and *crimes* necessarily and virtually imply each other. If I have a right to get your horse, it is because it would be a crime for you to keep him from me; and if it be a crime for me to take your horse, it is because you have a right to keep him. This we think is very pretty reasoning; but the distinction between the civil and the criminal law is not the less substantial and apparent. The civil law is that which directs and enjoins—the criminal law is that which punishes. This is enough for the legislator, and for those who are to obey him. It is a curious inquiry, no doubt, how far all rights may be considered as the counterpart of crimes, and whether every regulation of the civil

code necessarily implies a delict in the event of its violation. On this head there is room for a good deal of speculation; and in our opinion Mr. Bentham pushes the principle rather too far. There seems to be nothing gained, for instance, either in the way of clearness or consistency, by arranging under the head of criminal law those cases of refusal to fulfil contracts, or to perform obligations, for which no other punishment is provided but a compulsory fulfilment or performance. This is merely following out the injunction of the civil code, and cannot, either in law or in logic, be correctly regarded as a punishment. The proper practical test of a crime, is where, over and above the restitution of the violated right (where that is possible), the violator is subjected to a direct pain, in order to repress the repetition of such offences.

In conformity, however, with his notion of the necessary reciprocation of crimes and rights, Mr. Bentham carries his idea of the extent and dominion of the law a great deal farther than any other writer we have met with. As crimes are clearly the creatures of law and positive institution, so, he holds, must rights be also; and accordingly, he does not scruple to assert, positively and expressly, that it is from the law alone that we enjoy the right of getting up or lying down, of walking out into the fields, or of moving our hands to our heads. This paradox he explains, by stating that we can only be said to have a *right* to do these things, because the law has made it a crime for any one to disturb us in doing them. By the same process of reasoning it may be shewn, that it is from the law alone that we derive the right of breathing or of living. But this view of the matter is evidently quite forced and unnatural. The law can only be said to confer those rights which could not be exercised without its protection; and in this way, perhaps, all rights of property, of privilege and inheritance, and all claims upon formal contracts, may be said to owe their existence to law, as they would undoubtedly be defeated by an absolute abrogation of all such authoritative rules. But with regard to those acts that are implied in the very being of man, and which we cannot cease to exercise while we continue to exist, it seems evident that we derive our right to exercise them from a still higher authority; and that human institutions, though they may punish the violator of the right, can never pretend to have created it. Mr. Bentham sees the act and the authority of law in every thing, because, he says, every thing is either enjoined by it, or permitted with a prohibition against its being interrupted. We, on the other hand, only recognise the operation of law where it interferes with human inclinations or propensities. We see it only where it

enjoins or prohibits; and where it prohibits, we see it only in the restraints which it imposes, and not at all in those acts which its prohibition may render more secure. If there be any truth in Mr. Bentham's general position, we should say that rivers are dependent upon law for their right to run into the sea, since in many cases it has made it a crime to obstruct or divert them.

We should now prepare to accompany Mr. Bentham into the detail of his civil and criminal code; but the immense extent of the subject, even more than the great length of the preceding observations, deters us from engaging in a task so formidable. We must confine our remarks, therefore, to a few of the most interesting points of discussion. In entering on this exposition of the principles of the civil code, Mr. Bentham appals us by an abstract division of the objects of utility, or the elements of happiness, into, 1. Subsistence, 2. Abundance, 3. Equality, 4. Security. We are then told, that of these, security should be the chief object of the legislator, and that, by providing for it, the rest will follow of their own accord. There are some very good remarks on the effects of the full security of property on the whole frame of society, illustrated by an eloquent contrast of the condition of the Turkish Empire and the United States of America. Upon the subject of the maintenance of the poor, there is an excellent abstract of all the material points in dispute between the advocates and opponents of a legal assessment. Mr. Bentham decides in favour of it, chiefly on account of the uncertainty, the inequality, and the inadequacy of a voluntary contribution.

Upon the subject of the acquisition and transmission of property, there are a good number of puzzling distinctions, and a good deal of old doctrine delivered in new language. The most important of the novelties, is Mr. Bentham's law of intestate succession. He abrogates, of course, all distinction between male and female, elder and younger; he gives all to the descendants, to the exclusion of the parents; to the father and mother where there are no children; to the brothers and sisters where the parents also are deceased; and, on failure of parents and brothers, *to the state*, to the utter exclusion of all remoter collaterals, and only under the condition of their paying the interest of the succession to the surviving relations in the direct line of ascent. We are not at all aware of the expediency of this innovation. Mr. Bentham further approves of the power of making testaments, but wishes to reserve a certain portion to the children, and to restrict the right of testation to one half of the defunct's property, where he has no relations to interfere

with the state's claim to the inheritance. The effect of all these regulations, we think, is to diminish the value of property, by limiting the powers of the proprietor, and in that way to weaken the incitements to industry.

Upon the laws arising from the different civil relations of private life, we do not meet with many new observations, though the reasons and consequences of every thing are sifted and analysed in a much more rigorous manner than is usual. There are some excellent remarks upon slavery, which Mr. Bentham thinks would be abolished with the least danger, either if the slaves were permitted to redeem their liberty by their own extraordinary industry, or if a certain proportion of them were set free on the death of the proprietor. The latter scheme Mr. Bentham allows to be attended with some risk, and we believe it would produce more disappointment than satisfaction. Upon the subject of marriage, there is a very masterly dissertation: But we cannot agree with the author, that the permission of divorce, on the joint application of the parties, would tend to promote the felicity of this institution. Mr. Hume's argument upon this subject we take to be quite unanswerable, and are persuaded that Mr. Bentham has not sufficiently weighed the advantages that are derived from the indissolubility of this contract, both with respect to the precautions it inspires, and to its tendency to repress those dissensions which would be apt to tear asunder a more precarious tie, before habit and reciprocal benefits had come to confirm and to endear it. In some of the remarks which occur upon this subject, we think we can discover a tone that is not originally English, and suspect this to be one of the passages where M. Dumont has thought it proper to amplify and to animate his author.

In passing to the code of criminal law, Mr. Bentham does not forget the necessity of classifying and dividing. Delicts, according to him, are either, 1. Private, or against one or a few individuals; 2. Reflective, or against the delinquent himself; 3. Semipublic, or against some class or description of persons; and, finally, public, or against the whole community. Private delicts, again, relate either to the person, the property, the reputation or the condition; and they are distributed into complex and simple, principal and accessory, positive and negative, &c. &c. The chief evil of a crime is the alarm which it excites in the community; and the degree of this alarm, Mr. Bentham assumes, depends upon *eight* circumstances, the particular situation of the delinquent, his motives, his notoriety, his character, the difficulties or facilities of the attempt, &c. Without following out the enumeration, it seems quite enough to say, that the

alarm is increased by every thing which renders it probable that such acts may be frequently repeated. In one case, and one of considerable atrocity, there is no alarm at all; because the only beings who can be affected by it, are incapable of fear or suspicion—this is the case of infanticide: and Mr. Bentham ingeniously observes, that it is probably owing to this circumstance that the laws of many nations have been so extremely indifferent on that subject. In modern Europe, however, he conceives that they are barbarously severe. In the case of crimes against the community, such as misgovernment of all kinds, the danger again is generally infinitely greater than the alarm.

The remedies which law has provided against the mischief of crimes, Mr. Bentham says, are of four orders; preventive—repressive—compensatory—or simply penal. Upon the subject of compensation or satisfaction, Mr. Bentham is most copious and most original; and under the title of satisfaction in honour, he presents us with a very cool, acute, and judicious inquiry into the effects of duelling, which he represents as the only remedy which the impolicy or impotence of our legislators has left for such offences. We do not think, however, that the same good sense prevails in the sketch which he subjoins of the means that might be employed to punish insults and attacks upon the honour of individuals. According to the enormity of the offence, he is for making the delinquent pronounce a discourse of humiliation, either standing or on his knees before the offended party, and clothed in emblematical robes, with a mask of a characteristic nature on his head, &c. There are countries perhaps where such contrivances might answer; but, with us, they would not only be ineffectual, but ridiculous.

In the choice of punishments, Mr. Bentham wishes legislators to recollect, that punishment is itself an evil, and that it consists of five parts; the evil of restraint—the evil of suffering—the evil of apprehension—the evil of groundless persecution, and the evils that extend to the innocent connexions of the delinquent. For these reasons, he is anxious that no punishment should be inflicted without a real cause, or without being likely to influence the will, or where other remedies might have been employed, or in cases where the crime produces less evil than the punishment. These admonitions are proper, and, we dare say, sincere; but they certainly are not recommended by their novelty. The punishments which Mr. Bentham approves, are such as are susceptible of degrees, uniform in their nature, analogous to the offence, proportionate to the temptation, economical and remissible. He does not approve of punishing with death, and makes a remark upon the penal code of England, which has been so often

repeated by foreigners, that it seems no longer to operate as a reproach on the natives.

In the section upon the indirect means of preventing crimes, there is a great deal of genius and strong reasoning, though there are many things that are set down in too rash and peremptory a manner, and some that are supported with a degree of flippancy* not very suitable to the occasion. The five main sources of offence he thinks are, want of occupation, the angry passions, the passion of the sexes, the love of intoxication, and the love of gain. As society advances, all these lose a good deal of their mischievous tendency, excepting the last; against which, of course, the legislator should be more vigilant than ever. In the gradual predominance of the avaricious passions over all the rest, however, Mr. Bentham sees many topics of consolation, and concludes this part of his work with declaring that it should be the great object of the criminal law to reduce all offences to that species which can be completely atoned for and repaired by payment of a sum of money. It is a part of his system, which we have forgotten to mention, that persons so injured should in all cases be entitled to reparation out of the public purse.

This closes Mr. Bentham's view of the principles of criminal jurisprudence, and terminates that portion of his great work which is contained in the present publication. The separate dissertations which are annexed, and occupy the greater part of the third volume, relate to the same general subject, and possess a considerable degree of interest. The first is a proposal for constructing prisons and houses of correction, in such a form, as to admit of the whole interior being seen at once from a central point, where Mr. Bentham is for having a small chamber, fitted up with blinds, where the inspector either is, or is supposed to be, constantly present. This he calls a *Panoptique*, and promises rather greater things from its adoption than are very likely to follow. It has been adopted, however, we believe, in several parts of England with considerable advantage. A bridewell upon the same construction has subsisted for upwards of ten years in this city.

The next dissertation is on the methods and the expediency of promulgating the laws, and the reasons on which they are founded: illustrated by an extract from the penal code which Mr. Bentham promises one day to give to the world.

The last discourse, which is by far the most interesting, is upon the influence of time and place in questions of legislation. Mr. Bentham illustrates his notions as to the cautions to be ob-

* See in particular Vol. III. p. 36, 57, &c.

served in the transplantation of laws, by stating, with some detail, the changes and qualifications that would be necessary in transferring to Bengal those laws that are generally admired and approved of in England. He then examines the effects of time on laws and on society, and, with his usual acuteness and precision, points out the obvious errors into which those philosophers have been betrayed who have either called in question the possibility of great ameliorations, or indulged in visions of absolute perfectibility. The whole of this treatise, which coincides in subject with the great work of Montesquieu, is written with much force of reasoning and vivacity of manner. We regret that our limits will not permit us to enter more fully into the subject, and can safely recommend the perusal of it to a larger class of readers than we can venture to bespeak for the rest of the publication.

Upon the whole, we take our leave of this publication with some feelings of fatigue, but with sentiments of the greatest respect for the talents of the author. It must be our fault if our readers feel only the former. So large a quantity of original reasoning has seldom, we believe, been produced by one man; and the defects of Mr. Bentham's book, as well as its excellences, are such as to assure us, that he has drawn the whole of it from the stores of his own understanding, and scarcely ever condescended either to assist or to correct his speculations by the lights which might have been furnished from without. Notwithstanding all that M. Dumont has done to render the work popular, we are afraid that it will have fewer readers than it deserves. Those who do read it, will also dissent, we should imagine, from many of the author's fundamental principles; but they will infallibly be delighted with the sagacity and independence which distinguish all his speculations, and will look forward with impatience to the publication of his entire system.

Art. II. *Voyage Phisique et Lithologique dans la Campanie, &c.* Par Scipion Breislac. Traduit du Manuscrit Italien, par le Général Pommereuil, en deux Volumes. Paris, an XI. 1803.

AFTER contemplating the agitations of the moral and political world, and the annihilation of the prejudices and wreck of the institutions which ages had held sacred, we survey with complacency the immutable tranquillity of the earth, the peaceful succession of the seasons, and the uniform reproduction of animal and vegetable life. Yet this earth, apparently so tranquil, is pregnant with the most tremendous causes of desolation, and sometimes abandons devoted districts to all the horrors of volcanic explosion, and the awful attendant phænomena. Countries the most

rich in fertility and cultivation, cities the most ancient and populous, have been lost beneath stones and ashes, or overwhelmed by fiery torrents; their very site has been ingulphed, and become the vortex of eruption, or the bason of a pestilential lake. Equally beyond the power of human prescience to foresee, or of human energy to control, these terrible operations are sometimes directed to devastate countries of ancient formation, and sometimes to create new territories, whose future fertility tends to repay the desolation that accompanied their production.

The most celebrated and most delightful portions of Italy have been modified or formed by the agency of fire. The rock of the Capitol, which Roman vanity called eternal, is the tottering edge of a crater; and the Campania Felice has been the creation of successive lavas, and owes its exuberant fertility to frequent showers of volcanic ashes.

Italy presents every variety and gradation of volcanic and pseudo-volcanic phænomena. Near its northern boundary, the basalts and amygdaloids of the Vincentine are of dubious formation; and the Euganean mountains in the Paduan territory have not an undisputed claim to an ingneous origin. The transverse portion of the Appenines, from Parma to Bologna, is noted for eructations of mud, and emissions of inflamed gas; and the south of Tusoany contains the celebrated Lagoni, and the extinct volcanoes of Monte Fiora and Radicofani. The western states of the Church present a vast extent of territory, universally allowed to be volcanic, stretching, without interruption, from Aquapendente to Veletri, forming the environs of the lake of Bolsena, the hills of Montefiascone and the Montagna di Viterbo, extending east to between Borghetto and Otricoli, and spreading over the vast plain of Rome. It touches the limestone of the Appenines at Tivoli, forms the hills of Frascati, surrounds the huge crater that contains the lake of Albano, and probably communicates by the valley of Anagni with the volcanic district of the Terra di Lavoro. The limestone of the Appenines, which skirt the Pontine marshes from Piperno to Terracina, extends along the coast by Fondi to Gaeta, and nearly to the River Liris or Garigliano. These volcanic substances appear to form the basis of the valley, and probably extend to Soza and Anagni. Towards the south, Mignano, Teano, Calvi, Capua, Caserta, Nola Sarno, and Sorrento, are all situated within the eastern boundary of the volcanic territory, which comprehends the whole space westward to the sea, forming the celebrated Campania Felice. It is encircled by limestone, stretching from Gaeta to the Cape of Minerva; and, excepting the Monte Massico, and the hill near Calvi, which are limestone, all included in this boundary is entirely of igneous

origin. Nor are the volcanic substances confined within these limits. They form the basis of the valley of the Volturnus, and the whole extent between Cerelo and St. Agata di Goti; they reach up the Calore towards Beneventum, up the Claudine valley; and, stretching beyond Nocerra, they form the basis on which stands Salerno.

The various parts of this extensive district will be regarded with unequal interest. The lavas of Sessa, Rocca, Monfine, and Teano, flowed at a period far antecedent to history; the fertile soil of the Campania conceals the pumices, tufas, and ashes, which form its basis; and they, in their turn, bury the lavas, which are only discovered in profound excavations. But, towards the south, we find the islands of Ischia, of Procida, and the whole territory from Cuma to Naples, rough with craters, and fuming with exhalations; and near these half-extinct remains, we find the formidable Vesuvius resting from the work of desolation, and concentrating his energies for another overwhelming explosion.

Of more than two hundred authors, who have written on the volcanic productions of the kingdom of Naples, very few have been guided in their investigations by scientific views. Affected by the consternation and surprise, which phænomena so tremendous and extraordinary naturally excite, they have endeavoured to transfuse into the minds of their readers the feelings which overpowered themselves, and tried to make amends for the inaccuracy of their descriptions by vague exaggeration and magnificent misstatement. Nothing in the neighbourhood of a volcano was to be explained in an obvious or ordinary manner; clouds of dust were translated into smoke; fragments of pumice into ignited rocks; and showers of rain, with the subsequent troubled streams which furrowed the mountain, were magnified into *mud-lavas*, or into disgorged torrents of water, which were boiling hot, or salt, or both, according to the caprice of the narrator. These awful operations of nature were eagerly seized on by the priests, as a certain mode of obtaining ascendency over the minds of the bigoted populace; and the members of the celestial hierarchy were promoted or degraded, as their votaries deemed them capable of controlling the fury of the dreaded volcano.*

Even those who studied the mountain with calmer attention, were betrayed, by preconceived opinions, into the most extraordinary mistakes. The Pere della Torre, with singular perversion of observation, says,† that 'Vesuvius is not a mountain produced by an eruption, or formed little by little, but made of strata of

* See Breislac, vol. I. p. 225, note.

† Storia é fenomeni del Vesuvio, p. 23.

different matters like all other mountains, and consumed by perpetual fire, which it contains within its bowels.' He also observes, 'that in the interior rocks of the Somma, and of Ottajano, no vestiges of fire are to be seen.' Though free from all such errors, the magnificent work of Sir William Hamilton on the Campi Phlegraci,* decorated with splendid engravings, is rather calculated to give an idea of the scenery of the district, and the picturesque effect and character of the volcano, than to be a vehicle of scientific information. The works of the Abbate Botis, and the Gabinetto del Vesuvio, by the Duke della Torre, contain many valuable observations and curious details; but it was not till Gioeni's book, on the lithology of Vesuvius,† made its appearance, that any general and accurate description of Vesuvian substances was given.

This intelligent observer has prefaced his descriptive catalogue by preliminary remarks of considerable merit, and has interspersed notes from which much important information may be gleaned; but he has attended too much to the diversities of individual specimens, and too little to general formations. In volcanoes, each eruption forms an epocha; and it is only by separating the products of one eruption from those of another, and by noting the attendant phænomena, that we can register their history, or reason on their operations. Gioeni only incidentally contrasts the peculiarities observable in lavas of different antiquities; and his observations are confined to Vesuvius, where indeed he found diversity enough to occupy him. The consideration of that single mountain, however, is not enough; and the examination of its isolated products can only be considered as establishing a partial standard of comparison for the substances afforded by the whole extent of the volcanic district, of which it forms a small part. An investigation of the physical constitution of the Campania, was essential to the correction and enlargement of our ideas respecting Vesuvius itself; and for its accomplishment we must ever hold ourselves indebted to the indefatigable perseverance and sagacious researches of Scipio Breislac.

The first edition of this work was printed in Italian, at Florence, in 1798. It has been increased by numerous subsequent observations, and some new maps. The translation into French has been performed by General Pommereuil, who has taken no small pains in its naturalization. The Italian measures of Breis-

* Published at Naples in 1776.

† Saggio di Litologia Vesuviana dal Cav. Guiseppe Gioeni. Napoli, 1791.

lac have been transmuted into French metres, which arrogantly figure in the text, while the original expression is degraded to the notes. Many of Breislac's appreciations of distance, where perfect accuracy was not intended, and could not be attained, sounded very well as leagues or miles, but are perfectly ridiculous when reduced to kilometres, hectometres, metres, and centimetres. This pretended precision would be only absurd, if it were correctly founded upon the original; but it frequently appears, that the General gives his kilometres in round numbers, when the true conversion of his author would have afforded a fraction. Dates, of course, are rendered conformable to the Republican calendar; and even the nomenclature of minerals has not escaped. The denominations invented by Haüy are familiarly introduced into the text; and the names by which the substances had been previously distinguished, and by which alone they are still known to nine tenths of the mineralogists of Europe, are termed *ci-devant*. We can hardly suppose it was modesty that induced the General to afford his readers no mode of distinguishing his notes from those of the author, except the internal evidence arising from the diversity of their style and matter. To readers of ordinary discrimination, however, this test is sufficient; for no distinctions can be more marked, than between sagacious observation and frivolous impertinence.

It is far from being our intention to follow the author through the whole extent of his laborious investigations, because we are fully convinced of his accuracy in observing, and his fidelity in reporting; but we shall bestow a few sentences on the eruption of 1794, because it presents some of the most striking volcanic phænomena, and serves to correct some former errors.

On the evening of the 15th of June 1794, after some preliminary shocks, the base of the cone of Vesuvius opened to the west, and a torrent of lava gushed out. Five small craters were formed in its course, and ejected highly ignited stones with violence and in rapid succession. The lava in six hours flowed three miles, and, after destroying the town of Torre del Greco, ran 362 feet into the sea.* The sudden cooling it there underwent, did not affect its texture, or render it prismatic. This lava is of an earthy grain, uneven fracture, and variable porosity. It will

* Sir William Hamilton says, that according to the measurement of the Duke della Torre, 'the new promontory which the lava formed was 1204 English feet broad; its height above the sea was 12 feet, and as many feet under the water; so that its whole height was 24 feet. It extended into the sea 625 feet.' See Phil. Trans. for 1795, p. 73.

strike fire with steel, and is of a dark grey colour. It abounds in green augites, and contains mica rarely. It is said to have formed augites by sublimation on the walls of the church at Torre del Greco. Glass was converted by it into Reaumur's porcelain. Iron was generally oxidated, rarely combined with sulphur. Copper was softened and oxidated; silver was fused. Whilst the lava continued to flow from the western base of the cone, another opening was formed on the eastern side, at a rather less elevation, and a stream of lava issued from it, and flowed sluggishly near a mile. On the morning of the 16th, the lava ceased to flow from the western opening, and the mouth of the volcano resumed its activity. It remained for four days covered by a cloud of ashes which it ejected, and which showered over the adjacent country, and fell on an average 14 inches thick. At Caserta, more than ten miles from Vesuvius, torches were obliged to be used at mid-day, and the gloom was only broken by the frequent flashes of lightning which partially displayed the mountain.

On the 20th ashes ceased to fall, and Vesuvius became again visible; but during the preceding convulsion, part of its summit had fallen in, and the crater was considerably enlarged. It now ejected, violently, vast numbers of stones; and dense clouds issued from it in continual succession, and ascended to several times the height of the mountain, dilating as they rose. These clouds seemed chiefly composed of minute fragments of lava, pumice, &c. These phenomena continued till the 5th of July; and during that period, every cloud that appeared on the horizon was attracted to Vesuvius. Violent rains, mixing with the loose ashes, formed impetuous torrents of thin mud, which carried devastation every where. Exhalations of carbonic acid mixed with azote, and some sulphureous acid, infested the cellars of Portici and Resina, and diffused themselves over particular districts of the country, where they were equally fatal to animal and vegetable life.* The vapours emitted by the volcano, during this eruption, were chiefly muriatic acid; and the muriates of soda and ammonia were abundant in the hollows of the lava. Sulphur and sulphureous acid were of rare occurrence, though the lava sometimes contained the sulphates of iron and lime; it also contained the oxides of iron and arsenic. The humid vapours, exhaled by the lava, rapidly formed thin silicious stalactites, by which, near the new craters, fragments of pumice and ashes were agglutinated.

* Olives and pear-trees alone were exempted from the evil effects of this scourge. See Breislac, vol. I. p. 221.

We wish the attention of our readers to be particularly fixed on some of these recent and well authenticated facts, as they are of much importance in explaining the general operations of volcanoes.

They should particularly observe the rapidity with which the lava moved—the heat that it communicated to substances at Torre del Greco—the scarcity of sulphur, proved by the lava converting the metallic bodies it approached into oxides, instead of sulphurets or sulphates—the formation of silicious stalactites, by the hot, humid vapours—and the inundations of mud caused by the mixture of ashes and rain. These facts appear not easily reconciled with the assertions of many able naturalists respecting the imperfect fluidity of lavas, their low temperature, and the abundance of sulphur they contain, which has been regarded as the vehicle of their particles, and the pabulum of their inflammation. The rain and ashes forming a paste, and overflowing the country*, seem to account for the formation of tufas and imperfectly consolidated volcanic bodies, without having recourse to an eruption of mud; and the formation of silicious stalactites opens a wide field to curious investigation. In order to appreciate the full importance of these remarks, it is necessary to consider some of the opinions on the most important questions suggested by inquiries into the constitution of volcanoes, which have been supported by the greatest ingenuity, and sanctioned by the most accurate observations.

The most ancient and the most simple mode of accounting for volcanoes, is that which attributes them to the eructations of a central fire occupying the interior of the earth. To this theory it may be objected, 1. That it is founded on an entirely gratuitous assumption; 2. That it is extremely improbable; and, 3. That it is inadequate to explain the phenomena. The two first propositions require no proof; on the third it may be remarked, that admitting the centre of the earth to be melted matter, it must, from the duration of the fusion, have obtained perfect homogeneity. There can be no grounds for supposing that it was not originally constituted homogeneous; but, even if it was originally heterogeneous, its long continued fluidity must have produced a complete and chemical mixture. A fluid, in such a state, must be completely quiescent; and its tranquil existence in the centre of the earth will not avail in accounting for volcanoes.

* Sir William Hamilton observes, that the mud formed by rain and ashes became in a few days so hard as to require a pick-axe to break it. See his 'Account of the late eruption of Vesuvius,' in the Philosoph. Transact. for 1794, p. 73.

We are indeed told by the ablest advocate of this system, that, in the mineral regions, the only effects of heat are fusion and expansion.* How is this expansion produced? It cannot result from the continuance of the same degree of heat. There are no methods we can devise, by which a homogeneous fluid can be expanded by heat, but by increasing the temperature till the fluid itself be rarefied, or by introducing some new substance whose solution may produce an evolution of gas. But what is this substance to be, and whence is it to come? It will require a new assumption to provide the leaven which is to set the bowels of the earth in fermentation. The expansion by increase of heat cannot take place, because the theorists themselves have assigned its limits, by depriving the central fire of all pabulum. Increase being impossible, it must, in conformity with the laws of heat, diminish, by equallizing the temperature of the surrounding bodies, and therefore cannot produce an expansion. It is in vain that water is presumed to trickle on it from above. It is equally in vain that the sea is supposed to be introduced. This might produce earthquakes, with furious emissions of gases and steam, but no lava. The water must find its way into the interior of the melted mass, before it could produce the expulsion of a lava; and such an introduction is effectually prevented by the inferiority of its specific gravity. Pour water on melted iron, and there is no explosion; pour melted iron into water, and still there is no explosion; enclose a drop of water in the heated metal, and no known power can control it.

Besides, admitting the homogeneity of the melted mass, which we think cannot be denied, whence come the diversities of lavas? Why have we basalt, which is a lava, according to this system, in one place, and glass in another; pumice in a third, and the earthy lavas in a fourth? Why have we sometimes sulphureous vapours, sometimes muriatic acid, and sometimes hydrogene gas? In short, whence arise the perpetual variations of volcanic productions? The specific gravity of the earth, taken collectively, is found to be nearly double the average gravity of the rocks which compose its surface. The central fluid must therefore be of at least double the average gravity of rocks. How comes it that lavas and volcanic glass are generally under the medium gravity of rocks, and that basalts are very little above it? We have discussed this ingenious theory at some length, because it has been adopted by men of talents, and because, at first sight, it appears completely to overcome every difficulty, by assuming all that is

* See Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory, by Professor Playfair, § 80.

required to be proved. But it appears to us, that, granting this unwarrantable postulatum in its utmost extent, it is insufficient to provide the elucidation required.

Werner, who had studied the extraordinary appearances produced on superincumbent rocks by the combustion of beds of coal, applied these facts to the explanation of volcanic fires; and supposed lavas were formed by the fusion of basalt. This opinion has some plausibility; but it is wholly incapable of accounting for the duration of volcanoes, for their intermittance, or the extent of their operations. Still less probable were the opinions of the philosophers who recurred to petroleum and to sulphurets of iron. Breislac, who, like most men of very extensive observation, is little addicted to theorizing, has been rather unfortunate where he has attempted it. He finds nothing incongruous in the joint action of coal, pyrites and petroleum. He discovers a bed of coal a foot thick near Beneventum, which he regards with much exultation; though he might as well think of feeding a furnace with a sheet of paper, as of stimulating a volcano by such a supply. By decomposing his pyrites, he distills petroleum from the limestone of the Appenines; it carries with it some phosphoric matter (created expressly we presume), and finds its way to commodious reservoirs under Vesuvius. There, water saturated with common salt waits to receive it, and their union is cemented by the hymeneal torch of electric flame. The usual consequences of matrimony, discord, fury, and uproar, ensue; and the unnatural parents turn out of doors the lava they engender between them.

Theorists who thus endeavoured to account for the inflammation of Vesuvius, were much embarrassed to obtain the necessary supplies of oxygene. Dr. Thomson, whose residence at Naples afforded him ample opportunities of observation, and whose acute genius has in several instances thrown light on volcanic operations, has devised an explication of this difficulty, more remarkable for its boldness than its probability. He supposes that, at certain degrees of heat, the oxygene contained in the carbonic acid of the limestone of the Appenines, may be inclined to enter into new combinations; and he illustrates this doctrine by the beautiful and well known experiment of Tennant, who operated the decomposition of carbonic acid by means of phosphorus*. On this theory, it may be observed, that it commences by supposing the previous existence of a heat of great intensity, without providing any means for its production: 2. It supposes the application of some unspecified base to the carbonic acid, to attract the oxy-

* Giornale Letterario di Napoli, vol. 106. p. 3.

gene; he cannot possibly suppose the phosphorescent limestone to contain phosphorus enough for this purpose: 3. It affords no employment for the charcoal of the carbonic acid, which is left to crystallize into diamonds, plumbago, or what it likes best: 4. There is no way of disposing of the immense quantity of quicklime which this process would produce; part of it may be incorporated with the lavas, but the whole cannot be employed in this way, without rendering their bases almost entirely lime, which is notoriously not the case.

But the palm of superior originality, in this contest of theoretic invention must be accorded to the genius of M. Patrin, who has long been advantageously known to the world by his travels in Siberia, and his splendid collection of Siberian minerals. In an essay read at the Institute, and afterwards published in a separate form he procures muriatic acid from common salt by a rather arbitrary process, and decomposes pyrites by its means.* He supposes sulphur to be concrete electricity, and then identifies it with phosphorus.† He manufactures calcareous earth from thunder and lightning‡; and he discovers a metalliferous fluid, which is at once the base of the muriatic acid, and the generator of metallic veins. It assists phosphorus in fixing oxygene under an earthy form§; and with the united aid of the other substances we have enumerated, he very successfully accounts for every existing phenomenon. On this theory, we do not presume to offer any observations.

Researches into the original causes of volcanic inflammation may well admit of diversity of opinion, where the operations, from which our information should be derived, are so profoundly concealed. The products only are submitted to examination; and though they are prodigiously abundant, and the observers proportionably numerous, there is a woful scarcity of consistent evidence. Yet there are some points on which all agree; and perhaps it may be possible to arrange the principal facts, so that they may not appear contradictory.

Much disputation has arisen respecting the intensity of the volcanic heat. Those who derived it from the inexhaustible magazine of central fire, were lavish of it to a degree which very ill suited the parsimony with which those were obliged to husband their fuel, who trusted to coal and petroleum for a supply. *They*

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* Recherches sur les Volcans, p. 8. & 9.
† Id. p. 10.
‡ Id. p. 11.
§ Id. p. 17. & 27.

contended, that the heat of volcanoes was extremely small, because it was incapable of altering the forms of the leucites, augites, and feldspars, which lava so abundantly contained. Even the illustrious Dolomieu, the father of correct observations on volcanoes, was swayed by this consideration so much, as to adopt a very improbable mode of explaining the fusion of lavas, at a low temperature, by means of sulphur.

Observing the similitude of lavas to primitive rocks, he concluded that igneous fusion was not produced, but that the heat expanded the substance, and allowed its particles to slide on one another. Even this operation was confined to the basis; for he supposes the feldspars, augites and leucites, to be wholly unchanged. Though he appears to attribute very mysterious effects to the long continuance of heat, he was so conscious of the improbability of his theory, that he endeavoured to render it more reconcileable to the known laws of nature, by supposing that this strange fusion was operated by introducing between the particles an intermediary substance in which they were to be suspended, and which was to be the vehicle of their apparent fluidity. When this substance was removed, they approached, and were reunited into a rock resembling that which they had formed previous to the operation. This convenient agent was sulphur; and Dolomieu attempted to establish an analogy between its supposed action in rendering rocks easily fusible, and the action of phosphorus in facilitating the fusion of platina.* No analogy, however, exists between these operations. Phosphorus chemically combines with platina, but sulphur does not enter into any such combination with lavas; and Spallanzani determined, by direct experiment, that the addition of sulphur nowise assisted their fusion.

Even supposing that the particles of lava were thus suspended, it is obvious that, the moment the vehicle was taken away, as Dolomieu supposes the sulphur to have been by combustion, the particles, instead of consolidating, would be left disunited like sand, unless the heat was sufficient to produce their agglutination by igneous fusion; and if it was so great, the sulphur would be only an unnecessary incumbrance. It may be farther observed, that this theory assumes the existence of an immense quantity of sulphur, and supposes its lavish combustion in every eruption. But the vapours of Vesuvius contain very small quantities of sulphureous fumes. They consist principally of muriatic acid or hy-

* *Vide* Dolomieu, Lipari, p. 95.
Id. Journal de Physique, an 2. tome 1. p. 118—120.
Id. Sur les Isles Ponces, p. 10, &c.

drogene; and the lava of 1794 contained few traces of sulphur, and abounded in oxygene.*

Though we have no means of determining the heat of a lava when it first issues from its crater, perfectly liquid and in violent ebullition, the destruction of Torre del Greco has provided us with an approximation to the heat it could communicate after it had been six hours emitted, had traversed an extent of country three miles in length, and had been refrigerated by the contact of paved streets and houses. We find that, in the ruins of that unfortunate town, the window-glass near the lava was converted into procelain jasper; that pretty large masses of iron were oxidated to the heart; that copper was oxidated and softened, and that silver was melted. Fine silver is said to melt at 28° of Wedgwood's pyrometer, or at 4720° of Fahrenheit. The portions of lava which acted on these metals, must have been very considerably cooled by the pavements and walls of the houses; and, besides, it was not in immediate contact with the metals. We must therefore assign it a much higher temperature than that which was communicated to the substances affected. What that temperature was, we do not presume to determine. Breislac mentions one circumstance that indicates a tremendous heat. He says augites were formed on the walls of the church by sublimation from the lava. In this particular, however, we cannot help thinking that his usual accuracy must have failed him, as no other of the observed effects appears at all proportioned to this.

Admitting the lava to have been quite hot enough to have flowed with the usual fluidity of glass, it need not have been so hot as to destroy the substances contained in it; for none of them will melt at a lower temperature than 120° of Wedgwood. The grand difficulty, however, still remains; for how does it happen that lavas are almost universally found with a stony fracture and texture, when a portion of the same lava melted produces a glass? Even for this enigma we are now provided with a solution.

The conversion of glass into a stony substance, improperly called porcelain, was discovered by Reaumur, and would have unveiled the whole mystery, had the circumstances in which it

* The observations of Dolomieu are very strong contradictions to his theory. In his catalogue of the lavas of Etna, p. 370, he observes, that the sublimation of sulphur is more abundant in half extinct volcanoes, like the Solfatara, than in those which have frequent eruptions. Etna only forms it in the principal crater, and in small quantity.

was operated been carefully observed. This was the first dawn of discoveries of inconceivable importance and extent; and it seems more remarkable that their complete development should have followed so slowly, than that extensive corollaries should now be deduced. Mr. Keir, in 1776, directed the public attention to the crystallizations formed in glass by cooling, and the stony texture which glass slowly cooled assumes.* These facts were not consistently applied to account for the stony appearances of lavas, till Sir James Hall, in 1790, projected, and partly performed some experiments, the completion of which was reserved to 1798. Dr. Beddoes, in a paper contained in the Philosophical Transactions for 1791, amidst a chaos of inaccurate observations, distinctly points out the change from the vitreous to the stony texture produced by gradual cooling, and applies it to lavas, and illustrates it by instancing Reaumur's porcelain and the crystallization of slags. This doctrine received its full elucidation, when Dr. Thomson, in 1795, published his sketch of a classification of volcanic products, in which he boldly and clearly assumes it as the basis of his arrangement.† He maintains all lavas to have been in a vitreous state, and to have become stony by slow cooling. We find that Breislac inclines to the same opinion. Sir James Hall has since synthetically determined the point by the satisfactory results of his well imagined experiments. Indeed, it is wonderful how it so long eluded observation, when the slag of every furnace exhibits it in the most striking manner.

If it be inquired, how the known existence of volcanic glass, sometimes in very large masses,‡ is to be reconciled to this theory, it may be answered, that as the materials of lava appear to be constantly varying, some glasses may be found less disposed to crystallize than others, and require a longer continuance in a regulated temperature. 2. That we know of no instances of solid masses of volcanic glass of great thickness; for, respecting those of Lipari, Spallanzani expressly states the facility with which they were divisible into thin slabs, which he attributes to a small quantity of earth interposed between each slab. This

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* See Phil. Trans. for 1776, Vol. LXVI. p. 530. Ten years after, M. Pagot, de Charmes published some observations in the Journal de Physique, Tom. XXXIII. Part II. p. 211. on the crystals of glass; and M. D'Herminat afterwards added some illustrations. These gentlemen, however, do not appear to have attributed the formation of the crystals to the gradual refrigeration of the glass.

† Giornale Letterario di Napoli, Vol. XLI. p. 59.

‡ Spallanzani, Viagio alle due Sicilie.

statement leaves no doubt that these masses were formed by the accumulation of successive coats of very fluid lava, which, running over a large furface, and being in consequence very speedily refrigerated, retained its vitreous texture. We may remark as an additional confirmation, that the eruption of Vesuvius in 1779, when the lava was chiefly thrown up in a fountain from the crater, and was in consequence rapidly cooled, produced more vitrifications than all the other eruptions of Vesuvius taken collectively.

If the stony texture of lavas be considered as accounted for, and it be admitted that they have all sustained the igneous fusion, and been in a vitreous state, all controversy concerning their bases may terminate. Dr. Thomson has observed, that we can only judge of the basis of a lava, by the portions of unaltered stones which are found in it.* Even this is obviously an incorrect test; for a lava may flow over and envelop stones of all descriptions. The bases of lavas have been deduced from the substances contained in the lava, and supposed not to be generated in it. Thus, porphyry or granite furnished the feldspars; augites were found occasionally in basalt; but unfortunately no known rock contained the leucites which form so abundant an ingredient in the lavas of Italy.† There seems no way of overcoming this difficulty, but by supposing either that the volcano had pierced through all the strata which appear on the surface of the globe, and had discovered some unknown rock which served as its pabulum; or more simply, by holding that the leucites were generated in the lava. This opinion seems infinitely the

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* Abozzo d'una sciagrafia Volcanica, nel Giornale Letterario di Napoli, Vol. XLI.

† We believe this assertion to be correct. Many mistakes have arisen from confounding the *zeolythe dure* crystallized in 24drons (the analcime trapezoidal) with the leucite. It is readily distinguishable by the great fusibility of the analcime. The leucites which Faujas St. Fond imagined he found near Glasgow, were analcimes. Gioeni mentions leucites in limestone ejected from Vesuvius; but as he does not seem aware of the approximation of form which the analcime is capable of assuming, there is reason to doubt to which species they belonged. Dolomieu in the *Journal de Physique*, Tom. II. An II. says he possesses a specimen of gold ore from Mexico accompanied by minute leucites; and that Lelievre had found leucites in a granitic substance, near Gaverne, in the Pyrenées. He probably assumed them to be leucites from their external form only, as no experiment is cited in confirmation. Even admitting the existence of these detached instances, the general position is not invalidated.

most rational, and is strengthened by numerous arguments derived from the consideration of those lavas in which leucites exist.

Leucites are often found to contain a minute central nucleus, which not unfrequently appears to be a speck of lava. Globules, of a substance exactly similar to the enveloping basis, are often found in the interior of leucites. They frequently contain augites, partly projecting into the basis, partly imbedded in the leucite; and the leucites have been observed to be elongated in the direction of the pores of the lava.* Lavas are often composed almost entirely of leucites which absolutely touch one another, and are adjusted so as scarcely to afford any interstices for the basis which connects them; and extremely minute leucites form not unfrequently a kind of basis for large crystals of augite. Admitting the leucites to be generated in the lava, there can be no reason for denying the same origin to augites and feldspars, and to other substances contained in lava, provided they are *more difficult to fuse* than the basis in which they are engaged. After observing the various insulated crystals that are formed in glasses in cooling, the probability of such an origin cannot be denied. But it is equally clear, that all crystallized substances which are *more fusible* than the basis, must be of posterior formation. They never are constituents of the lava, and are found existing isolated in its cavities.

Substances generated in the lava, and those which have been afterwards introduced, have a striking dissimilitude in the manner of their connexion with it. The first are commonly closely enveloped, the basis of the lava applying itself to them in complete contact; or if it recedes, as it sometimes does, from leucites, it bears an impression of their sides, which shows that it merely retired in consequence of contraction; and the impression is so sharp, as to prove how perfectly it had accommodated itself to the form of the leucite. When any of this class of substances appear in the cavities of the lava, we always find one end of the crystal entering the solid mass; and it is evident that the apparent protrusion of the other part is merely in consequence of the cavity being formed by some evolution of gas after the crystal was formed; the gas forced aside the fluid basis, and the crystal remained projecting. The substances of subsequent formation have no such connexion with the basis of the lava. The line of their separation is perfectly defined by the boundaries of the cavity in which they are formed, and a very slight

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* See Breislac, Vol. II. p. 10.

effort detaches them entirely. Of this description are the zeolites, calcareous spars, &c. which are frequently found in the cavities of the lavas of the Somma, and not unfrequently in those of more recent origin, particularly in the lava near Portici, called the Granitello.* Breislac tells us, that even water is sometimes found in the interior cavities of lava, and endeavours to account for its being there by a rather mysterious application of the doctrine of infinite pressure. Admitting the pressure in the interior of the volcano to be so great as to confine a globule of red-hot water in lava, that pressure is removed the moment the lava issues from the mountain, and the water must instantly force its way out. On the same principle, zeolites containing water in a state capable of being easily dissipated by heat, cannot be generated in lava during its ignited state; and to account for their after existence in it, we see no better mode than to recur to the theory of infiltration introduced by Dolomieu. This doctrine does not meet indeed with M. Breislac's approbation; though we confess ourselves somewhat at a loss to perceive the force of his arguments, after considering the facts he has himself presented us with, respecting the daily formation of silicious stalactites, from hot humid vapours percolating through the cracks of lavas and other stones, and even penetrating their apparently solid substance, and lining their cavities with silicious pearls.

A subject of much curious inquiry remains, respecting the minerals ejected unaltered by Vesuvius. The greater part of these consists of varieties of carbonate of lime, spathose, shistose, granular, compact, and sometimes containing shells. The doctrine of pressure has been applied to explain this phenomenon also; and we are farther told by the ingenious Dr. Thomson, whose opinion Breislac seems inclined to adopt, that these shistose or granular and apparently primitive limestones are nothing but the common splintery limestone of the Appenines modified by heat and pressure. He does not explain how the specimens containing petrifactions escaped change; and, besides, this explanation fails as the former one did; for if the internal heat was sufficient to change the texture of the limestone, or the pressure great enough to confine its carbonic acid, still, at the moment of its expulsion, it must have been intensely hot, relieved from pressure, and exposed in open air. Why was it not reduced to quicklime?

We think it more probable that these limestones have never been acted on by the volcano at all. When Vesuvius made its

* Professor Playfair, in his Illustrations of the Huttonian theory § 62, affirms that zeolite and calcareous spar are never found in lavas, and applies this observation, in distinguishing lava from what he terms, *whinstone*.

first eruption, it is probable it broke through a roof of calcareous rock, the portions of which afforded these fragments. These would be expelled by the elastic force of the escaping vapours; numbers of them lighting on the interior edge of the newly formed cone, would again fall in, and probably be again expelled without remaining a moment, as often happens repeatedly to the same stone in every eruption. From the degradation of the cone during intervals of quiescence, a large portion of these stones would again fall in, and with other rubbish choke the crater, as always happens in the intermissions of volcanic fury, till the next eruption drives them all out. Thus the same stone may be again and again ejected from the volcano, without ever approaching the heated part. It may be observed, that excepting such stones as may have been accidentally lodged in the crater, Vesuvius has never ejected limestones in its recent eruptions. The limestones and the other primordial substances are all found buried in the rubbish of the Somma, and are only revealed by the ravages of torrents. Gioeni has been induced to attribute them all to one epocha, which perfectly accords with the explication that has been attempted above.

As to the other supposed primitive stones which Vesuvius has ejected, there seems less reason to discuss them. If they be primitive, the same explication which serves for the limestone may account for their remaining untouched. Some of them have hitherto been deemed peculiar to this mountain, and they are associated with the limestone and with each other in a manner which has never been observed in any other part of the world.

We have entered at such length into these interesting speculations, that many points of inferior consequence remain undiscussed; and we relinquish their farther consideration with the less regret, because there are not many occasions on which we are inclined to dissent from the opinions of Scipio Breislac. For the many curious and valuable facts which he details, we must refer our readers to the work itself, which they will find illustrated by a general geological map of the Campania, and by other maps of particular districts.

We cannot conclude without expressing our wish that he may be enabled to complete what he has projected, and that a survey of the volcanic districts of the states of the Church may be added to his present work.

ART. III. *Sketches on the intrinsic Strength, Military and Naval Force of France and Russia; with Remarks on their present Connexion, Political Influence, and Future Projects.* In two Parts. Part I. London, 1803. pp. 216.

THIS is altogether a very singular work. The language is that of a foreigner pretty well acquainted with English, or of an Englishman who, by long residence abroad, has both lost the free use of his native tongue, and mingled it with foreign idioms. From internal evidence we are inclined to believe the author's own assertion, that he is a Briton: for his sentiments, though with some considerable exceptions, are generally of that description which we usually compliment with the epithet of *British;* an appellation more honourable, if possible, in the present day, than at any former period of our story. The typography of this book is certainly foreign, although London is marked on the title-page, without either printer's or publisher's name. The preface is dated from the Hague, and the postscript from Paris. Not even in external character is it easy to classify this curious performance. Its shape is something between that of a quarto and an octavo; and its leaves are of a consistency between that of paper and of pasteboard. The matter and style of the book are not less original; and we think they are of sufficient interest to warrant a pretty full character and abstract, with specimens.

Although we differ widely from the author in many particulars, and highly disapprove of the spirit in which some of his statements are conceived, we should nevertheless find it very difficult to enter into any general refutation of his doctrines, or to give a full examination of the foundations upon which he rests them. This difficulty arises from the want of general principles, which prevails through all his speculations, and from the very questionable shape in which his facts come before us. He appears to have wandered a good deal over the Continent, and to have observed, and perhaps inquired, with some acuteness, but, we are convinced, without any great diligence or minuteness, and, we are perfectly certain, without the guidance of those enlarged views which alone can ensure accuracy of detail, or render it at all useful in systematic reasonings. Not that he can be accused of seeing without a preconceived theory; on the contrary, like all those who assume the title of *plain matter of fact men*, he is perpetually under the influence of some vague hypothesis, rashly adopted from a limited range of observation, and confidently relied upon as a safe guide, from ignorance of the maxim, that, in political science, insulated facts can never lead to any solid or general conclusions. He has thus acquired the habit of forming the most hasty opinions on things necessarily

involved in all manner of difficulty and doubt, of stating, as matter of fact, things which no man can see or know without a long and delicate process of reasoning; and of drawing positive inferences from such statements, as if, in the first place, they were capable of being verified, and as if, in the next, they formed, however true, the whole materials of the calculation. This intrepid reasoner sees no difficulties in questions the most complex, and treads the delicate ground of political arithmetic as confidently as he could plod in the sure tracks of abstract mathematics. He regulates the internal arrangements of states by the compass and square, as if those structures were built of inanimate materials; and applies his rash and partial calculations to the action of the great political machine, as if it moved without either friction or resistance. He frequently displays liveliness of fancy, and sometimes acuteness and powers of discrimination; but we look in vain for enlargement and expansion of intellect, or even for such a reach of thought as would be required to manage a long chain of obvious reasoning. If he observe on a small scale, he reasons on one yet more confined, seeing only a part of what he looks at, and comparing only parts of what he sees.

To the limited endowments of our author, however, the boldness of his assertions, and the contemptuous arrogance of his style, form a contrast sufficiently striking. In these common failings of political theorists, he, indeed, very far exceeds the ordinary measure. Without giving the sanction of a name to his statements, and without referring to any authority, he challenges our assent to a mass of facts, many of them perfectly new, and almost all bordering upon improbability. Many of those statements may be true, or they may not. We are told that some are the result of personal observation, and others of inquiries among intelligent friends. We are not told which of them rest upon the writer's authority and that of his friends, and what proportion is derived from sources open to public investigation; nor are we informed who this author and his correspondents are, that we should give credit to their averments. The consequence of so great a defect inevitably is, that we can only confide in such of the facts narrated, as are consistent with, nay supported by other authorities; and even, after making this deduction, there still remains field for scepticism, since many of the statements given under the name of facts, belong to a class which no man can possibly know with certainty, and could only exhibit the ignorance or presumption of him who might bring them forward, if he should avow his name. We have already mentioned one characteristic of our author's manner—the high tone in which he delivers his information, and dictates his opi-

nions. Far from recommending to speculative writers an excessive modesty or punctilious caution, we think the former is generally the outside of emptiness and impotence, while the latter is too often allied, in reasoning as well as in conduct, to that bastard kind of prudence, the offspring of cunning, and the cloke of timidity. But on points necessarily involved in obscurity, an inquirer should speak with a corresponding degree of hesitation. On matters which no man can see clearly, it is unbecoming to dogmatize, as if no one should dare to doubt. It is still more absurd to despise the world for the hesitation with which your dogmas may be received, when you proclaim that you alone have been able to apprehend their truth. Nor should it ever be forgotten, that an affectation of superior intelligence upon subjects in their own nature extremely dark, is mere quackery, if the materials of the calculation are concealed; and that an obscure individual, who rails abusively at 'kingdoms, principalities, and powers,' sadly mistakes petulance for dignity and force.

Of these very obvious considerations, the author of the work before us seems to be little aware. We have seldom been schooled by a more dictatorial or presumptuous master; and when he changes the didactic style for invective, his language is generally that of coarse and vulgar abuse. He is fond of calling names, when he wishes to be strong; and the appellations which he selects, are frequently cant phrases, or scurrilous epithets. From railing at 'worthy John Bull's magnanimity,' and other heavy ingredients; or, scouting the ignorance of 'our dotard countrymen,' he sometimes descends to individual abuse; collects sarcasms against the conduct of the British representatives in foreign courts, or reviles the 'pestiferous institutions' of such 'errant quacks as Baron Voght and Count Rumford.' In the part of these sketches, already published, the subject admits less of this personal kind of invective; but if we may judge of the second part by the table of contents annexed to the first, it must consist almost entirely of that scandal, half political and half personal, which travellers may so easily pick up abroad, concerning the ambassadors of their own country, and to which those, who the best discharge their duty, and preserve the dignity of their station, are commonly most exposed. It is singular, that one so well versed in what is called secret history, as our author appears to be, should not have reflected on the absurdity of anonymous publications in this slippery and dangerous branch of literature. When he comes forward with his second part, we trust he will recollect that the individuals against whom it is levelled, have a right to demand his name and his authorities; and we

think this claim sufficiently authorised by a considerable portion of the present volume.

Our author has thrown together his thoughts in a more careless manner, and delivered them with much less regard to method than even the title of 'Sketches' might have led us to expect. For this defect he in part apologises, by saying, that his remarks were printed at different times whilst he was travelling on the continent. There are, however, in the whole design of his work, clumsy and inconvenient irregularities which no degree of haste in the execution can excuse. He appears to have allowed himself as little time for thinking and digesting, as for comparing and correcting. He brings out his ideas piecemeal, and then quits the topic, until some casual association recals it; when he repeats and enlarges, and frequently modifies what he had formerly begun to explain. The notes which accompany every page, afford a clear proof that he is deficient in that luminous arrangement of ideas which is equally necessary to the formation of accurate or enlarged views, and to the communication of knowledge in an intelligible manner. Those notes are nearly equal in bulk to the text; and they contain no digressions or additional illustrations, but essential parts of the author's opinions and arguments, which he ought to have incorporated with the rest, as they are, indeed, frequently of much more importance to the subject than the text itself. Upon the whole, it is our opinion, that this writer possesses considerable acuteness, and great activity of mind; that he has profited less by his apparent opportunities of information, than a man of cooler judgement and greater stores of previous knowledge might have done; but that he has proved himself capable of affording valuable hints upon parts of the great questions which he discusses:—provided he can bring himself to reason more deliberately; to resist the glare of a paradox; to think more modestly of his own powers and acquirements; and to carry with greater hesitation into the affairs of states, that arithmetic, which he may perhaps have found easy and infallible in the business of his *comptoir*. His capacity of systematic inquiry, or long, connected, comprehensive reasoning, we are disposed entirely to doubt; and as a patient discriminating observer of events, he ranks still lower in our estimation.

We proceed to bring before our readers, a view of the very interesting topics which these 'Sketches' are intended to discuss. After the general remark which we have made upon the doubtful authority of the matter of fact contained in them, it will not be necessary particularly to indicate all those statements which from their mere want of support appear to deserve no

consideration. We shall form time to time suggest such observations as may shew how inaccurately a great proportion of the facts have been collected; and it furnishes no weak argument against the whole mass, unauthenticated as it is, if we find a considerable part at variance with accurate information, or repugnant to the unquestionable principles of reasoning.

The Introduction consists of a few general remarks upon the progress of nations, from weakness to maturity, and on the means of arresting their retrograde motion. In the early ages of society, men are easily roused to martial pursuits, and, as aggression is generally attended with success, their conquests are rapid and extensive. Arrived at a certain pitch of greatness, when offensive measures are no longer necessary to secure independence, they are apt to be satisfied with the power already acquired, and their rulers are flattered with the idea of enjoying in peace and safety the present extent of dominion. This period, usually denominated the maturity of the state, our author regards as the most critical stage of its existence. To the activity and energy by which the height was gained, a dangerous indolence and effeminacy succeeds; and, after a momentary pause, a rapid and universal depravation begins to spread. Who, he demands, shall check this evil, and save the nation? The rulers partake in, and profit by the general corruption of the people; and the effort, which is too great for *their* virtues or their talents, is, in others, deemed patriotism, only if successful; and if it fails, is denominated rebellion. But, in monarchies rightly constituted, there is an exception to the rule. Hereditary sovereigns, are hereditary patriots; their only good lies in the prosperity of their people. When all ranks are sunk in apathy and vice, a patriot king retains the power of saving and restoring the nation. He has only to use his authority according to the dictates of his real interests; for

—'such a government will always have the will, the physical and moral powers of the nation at its unconditional disposal. With these—to consolidate the rank and prosperity of a once independent state, it is only necessary to make the wealth of the nation the spring of national industry, and combine enjoyment with morality, so as to make both *stimulus* to public spirit and national improvement.' p. 6.

If, by this introductory dissertation, our author means to illustrate the assertion, that a nation cannot remain stationary, but must be either on the advance or decline, we are little disposed to dispute with him, except as to the method which he has taken to prove it. For it does not appear how external causes must necessarily operate the downfal of a community as soon as it has reached a certain pitch of grandeur; and, still less, how a state of repose from aggressive warfare should necessarily be fatal to the

internal prosperity and the independence of the people. On the other hand, we are at a loss to imagine how even an hereditary and patriotic king could regenerate a people so deplorably sunk in effeminacy and vice as he supposes; or from what foreign region such a sovereign is, in this posture of affairs, to summon all the 'respect, experience, vigorous integrity, and known talents,' with which he is, 'by a single nod of command' to 'fill the public functions of the state.

The 'Sketch' commences with some declamation against that mutual jealousy which has so long divided nations, and more especially the cabinets of their rulers; which has converted politics into the art of tricking, has perpetuated wars, and drained countries of their useful hands, while it loaded them with oppressive taxes. Industry, he maintains, has thus been burthened in the lower orders, and enjoyment abridged in the higher. Universal discontent with the ruling powers has arisen from the grounds which they have afforded to popular murmurs; and not from the writings of speculative malcontents, who, but for the errors of practical statesmen, would have had no materials upon which to work. Our author next lays it down as indisputable, that the mastery of the European continent is now divided between Russia and France; the former ruling either directly or indirectly the north and the east; the latter possessing the same influence or sway over the west and the south. If these great powers unite, nothing in our hemisphere can withstand them. Austria and Prussia, while independent of each other, may be allowed to remain nominally independent of Russia and France; but the moment of their union, if we rightly comprehend the author, will be the signal of their destruction. The plan of these sketches is, therefore, to consider the present resources and views, first of France, and then of Russia; and to point out their relations towards Great Britain.

I. To hear of the immense natural resources of France, is unhappily far from being a novelty. Our author's calculations, however, both of their present extent and their probable improvement, are constructed on a sweeping species of arithmetic, to which we are not altogether accustomed. Previous to the Revolution, it seems, only two fifths of the land susceptible of culture were in cultivation; and the system of management to which that portion was subjected, only produced a third of what ordinary good husbandry might have obtained. Even under this management, however, we are told that the government drew eight millions sterling from the produce of agriculture, and the church as much. The whole burdens upon the produce of agriculture, amounted to twenty one millions, and this may be increased at least

a million; to which eight may be added for duty on the consumption of those detached from the soil, but living by its produce; and a territorial revenue of 30 millions will thus be easily raised, after abating two sevenths of the burdens imposed by the old government.

Upon all this we have two remarks to offer.—In the *first* place, how did the author discover that just two fifths, and no more, of the arable land in France was in cultivation, and that this portion was managed exactly so as to produce one third of what ordinary husbandry might have drawn from the ground? In other words, how did he find out that precisely two fifteenths were raised of the produce which might and should have been raised; and that, of course, a territorial revenue of above 157 millions sterling might have been collected, had the soil been only tolerably well managed? But, *secondly*, we perceive he has committed an obvious mistake in estimating the rise which may be expected in the territorial revenue. When he at first talks of excise on the consumption of those whose manufactures and trade are supported by agricultural produce, we do not clearly see his meaning; but as he specifies this branch of revenue under the name of a territorial impost, and as he afterwards, in confirming his estimate by a detail of the old revenue, enumerates the *barrier duties* under the name of excise and consumption duties, we perceive that the eight millions which are to arise from the consumption of those who manufacture agricultural produce are to come from a direct impost upon the transit of that produce. A great allowance should therefore have been made in estimating the rise of this transit duty; because the government is supposed to come into the place of the church and crown with respect to annexed lands; and this duty is one which must fall immediately upon rent. It will not diminish either the *vingtiemes* or tithes; but it must be deducted from the profits of domains which accrue to the state, not as tribute, but as rent.

If we were required to point out a specimen of our author's deficiency in general views, proportioned to this rashness in calculation, we should refer to his unqualified and dogmatical assertion, that the first step necessary for the agricultural improvement of the republic, is entirely, and at all times, to prohibit the exportation of corn. This amounts, in the present day, we conceive, to a downright contradiction in terms. We might also mention his idea of a just land-tax,—which, he says, ought not to be proportioned to the rental, for that is fallacious—or to the produce, for that would be unjust—but fixed by a *cadastre* made upon actual survey of the quality of each acre. Such a method of raising a tax, we imagine, would not only be in the highest

degree expensive, but it would be either unjust or arbitrary. It would be unjust, if the assessment were made according to the quality of the soil, by an absolute and universal standard, because a man would then pay for the indolence, or ignorance, or poverty of his predecessors. It would be extremely arbitrary, if it were laid on by a fluctuating rule, because this must vary with the pleasure of the assessors, who must of course repeat, every year, their survey and valuation. We shall, however, proceed to the other lights in which the resources of France are viewed.

From the consequences of the revolution, our author prognosticates a great improvement and extension of manufacturing industry. The ancient prejudices against this branch of employment are done away; the destruction of paper has secured the level of prices; and the preponderance of French influence in other countries, may secure to the produce of the national industry a preference in foreign markets. All the advantages which France now enjoys over the rest of the continental states, give her goods a natural preference in those markets; and the risk of competition from Great Britain is prevented by the high price of labour in that country. The British workmen, indeed, he allows are more skilful; but he adds, the French may be taught, and the cheapness of provisions will compel the English workmen to emigrate. Thus, then, does this author clearly foresee, that the superior excellence of British manufactured produce will be of no avail in retaining a command of the European market, because foreigners may become as skilful; and that the high price of provisions will induce emigration among those classes who are ruining us by the price at which they sell their labour. To the former prediction, it is an obvious answer, that by the same kind of reasoning every superiority may be argued away. Capital may be acquired by other nations, which will lower their profits; their population may increase, and their labour diminish in price; their soil may be explored, and its produce varied. How impossible would it be, then, for any state to reckon upon maintaining its comparative advantages in manufactures or trade? The comfort is, that by the same prophetic powers, we may foresee some chance of changes beneficial to Great Britain. The eyes of continental states *may* be opened, and their courage roused against France; the French themselves *may* discover that peace is necessary to the improvement of their commerce; and the powers of Europe *may* learn, that their safety depends on a recurrence to ancient principles of international policy, and a confidence in that nation, whose magnanimity has never forsaken, and whose good faith has never betrayed them.

The prediction, of English artists emigrating to France for the sake of cheap living, is, if possible, still more ridiculous. Do labourers ever attend half so much to the price of provisions, as to the price of labour; and would not any such emigration produce at once four consequences sufficient to check its progress —a rise of provisions—and a diminution of wages in France—a rise of wages in England—and a diminution in the price of provisions? For the rest, we recommend to the author's attention a view of some facts, which demonstrate, what indeed scarcely required any proof, the unwillingness of artists to quit their own country, however oppressed by high prices, or even by heavy direct imposts, and scanty wages. It is not *from* Holland, but *to* Holland, that we have seen emigrations both of capitalists and artizans take place; yet in no country are profits so low, or taxes so high; in no state does the government share so largely the income of the people, or diminish the real enjoyments of the trader and the workman so grievously, in proportion to their gross profits and wages. 'After all that has been said' (Dr. Smith observes*) 'of the levity and inconstancy of human nature, it appears evidently from experience, that a man is, of all sorts of luggage the most difficult to be transported.'

In estimating the probable increase of manufacturing industry in France, our author allows a great deal too much for the influence of political superiority in forcing a market. He commits the same error, when he proceeds to consider the future augmentation of the French trade and fisheries. But, admitting that the power of the republic shall remain in its present state, and that her commercial and maritime resources are to be extended entirely by peaceable means, he contends that the circumstances of her situation are sufficient to operate a very rapid development of those resources.

The abolition of strict Roman Catholic discipline will increase the consumption of fish, by rendering it an article of luxury or cheapness, not a mark of penance. Instead of 2,500,000 quintals, formerly consumed in France, Spain, and Italy, there will now be a demand for three millions; and the supply of this (which he seems to assume, France will possess exclusively) must maintain just 20,000 able seamen, besides young men and boys. In like manner, he allows 5000 able seamen for the 150 vessels which the Greenland trade will speedily employ, and so on for the other fisheries in proportion; estimating that 45,000 able seamen will be required in all for the fisheries alone, besides young men and boys, whom he calculates at an equal number.

* Wealth of Nations, B. I. c. viii.

Now, admitting that France shall suddenly become much more expert than England and Holland in fisheries, and in the carriage of fish, and shall thus engross the Mediterranean market, as well as supply her own home consumption, we think our author's calculations are here, as usual, made very much at random, and we know that in many points they are inaccurate. It would follow, for example, from his estimate of the whale fishery, that the vessels engaged in it required above sixty-six men each; whereas, the average of the crews in the British whalers, from 1798 to 1800, both inclusive, was only thirty-four; and if the French vessels are manned nearly at twice the expence, how is the blubber trade to be carried on in the face of British competition?—not to mention that he has assumed the creation of a French whale fishery in two years, nearly twice as extensive as the British whale fishery is at this moment. Our author applies the same species of arithmetic to the colony and coasting trade of France: He supposes, that the former will employ 50,000 seamen of all kinds. We know that the British colonies do not at present occupy above one fourth part of this number; and that the French colonies, in their most flourishing state, never employed above 33,000, although the vessels were manned on so expensive a scale, as to render the price of freight a great deal higher than it ought to have been. Altogether, he concludes that the French fisheries and trade will employ 120,000 able seamen, and about the same number of young men and boys. We have been thus minute in our remarks upon the first calculations in which the author indulges, that, after affording a specimen of his rashness in treating one very important branch of the subject, we may be at liberty to follow him more generally in the remaining parts of his speculations.

One very prevailing opinion, which occurs in various forms through these sketches, is the extreme danger to which England is exposed by St. Domingo remaining in the possession of France. We extract the following observations upon this subject as new, and affording a fair average specimen of his style:

'Of the numerous faults and blunders committed by the several parties concerned in the late revolutionary war, next to *Great Britain*, the government of America has made the most irretrievable. To enter into war, for the mere purpose of acting upon the defensive, is the most ridiculous of all political absurdities. Such parties generally receive more blows than they give; and in the end, they are spurned at by their friends, and despised by their enemies.

'As the United States are situate, possessing an immense length of coast, a great number of mercantile ports, and the several provinces producing but little variation in their exportable commodities; to enable

their rapidly increasing population to maintain a profitable intercourse with the rest of the world, a certain portion of the sugar-trade is indispensably necessary. A small settlement or two would be of little importance to America; nor can it be expected that this government will be satisfied with such. But how are they now to acquire any great possession?

'During her warfare with France, or at any time prior to the destruction of *Toussaint*, America might have easily secured St. Domingo; a single proclamation, declaring that island an integral part of the federal republic, and an independent state in the union, would have instantaneously rallied both *blacks* and *whites* around her standard. And what had the United States to apprehend from France? *Caresses* and *attention:* but certainly no sort of danger.

'The acquisition of St. Domingo would have been, both in a commercial and political consideration, every thing that America could rationally desire: it would have enabled the United States to carry on a wide, extensive, and profitable maritime trade; and, as it would have rendered the political and mercantile interests of America and Great Britain reciprocal and mutual, by securing the British possessions in the West Indies, it would have raised an insuperable barrier between the United States and their perfidious sister, the French Republic.

'The opportunity is now lost! The partial patriotism of her chief magistrate, has, to all appearance, deprived America, perhaps for ever, of becoming that conspicuous nation, which nature, and the spirit of her inhabitants, certainly designed her to be in a few years. The politics of the acting president seem to be guided by no other system, than the personal animosities of Mr. Jefferson: he seems to bear malice against the British government; and that hatred is, with him, a sufficient reason to make America the unconditional dupe of the French Republic.

'St. Domingo lost, the Americans have turned their views towards the island of Cuba; they considered the acquisition of that settlement, as the certain result of a quarrel with Spain, and they pretend to have already a plausible pretext to make a claim upon that forlorn monarchy. But will France, now *military* mistress of the gulph of Mexico, suffer to settle, under the lee of St. Domingo, a power which might thereby become her rival in the colony trade? Certainly not; the very idea is repugnant to common sense. The Consulate may perhaps permit, and even encourage America to quarrel with Spain, with Portugal, or with Great Britain; but the Republic will reserve to herself the objects of their differences, as a pledge of their future tranquillity.

'Although the rulers of France know enough of the principles of sound policy, not to build the permanency of their government upon the caprice or partiality of temporary ministers; yet we see their leading system is, to manage the official and public men in other countries, so as to render their influence, ignorance, and credulity subservient to the consolidation of the Consular Republic. The *Versaillian*

policy of the Consulate, being well seconded by a revolutionary audacity, and supported with energetic firmness, has contributed more than all the Jacobin armies of France, to subdue the corrupt and cowardly governments of other states. The Consuls have been remarkably fortunate in finding manageable men abroad, it is true, and it must be confessed they have known to make use of them; for should the governments of Europe and America hereafter see their errors, the Consulate has taken special care, that they shall not have the means to retrieve them. The French are now in possession of the whole island of St. Domingo, with all their former settlements in that quarter, and Louisiana is ceded in sovereignty to the republic; so, in all probability, are the Floridas: With these possessions, she is indisputably mistress of the Gulph of Mexico: General Bowles and his Creek nations will soon become her *auxiliaries*; and she will either fraternize, or revolutionize the Southern States of America, already disposed to break up the Union.

'These, we think, will in all probability be the consequences of President Jefferson's short-measured politics.' p. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34.

We shall very briefly point out a few of the various considerations which are here overlooked. In the *first* place, admitting that a proclamation might have secured the colony to America, she would have been involved in war with France upon West Indian territory, and would in all time coming have been implicated both with Britain and France in the same part of the world. *Secondly*, The jealousy of Britain must have been excited against a neighbour like the United States, independent and subject to none of the checks necessarily imposed on colonial dominions, extending herself in a quarter where the British settlements are peculiarly valuable, and, unfortunately, not less weak, than worthy of being retained. *Thirdly*, It is unlikely that France, after losing almost all her dominions in the West Indies, would be prepared (as our author thinks, p. 32, note) to unite with her natural enemy in preventing the farther progress of the new West Indian power. It is rather to be apprehended, that she would assist America in her designs upon the rest of the islands. *Lastly*, The author forgets in what state St. Domingo has been for thirteen years; how long a period must elapse, after the nominal restoration of the mother country's authority, before a complete reestablishment of order and consolidation of resources can be effected; how heavy a burthen the colony must in the mean time prove to every political movement; and how material a diversion its rebellious population will for many years create in all military operations which France may undertake in the Gulph of Mexico. He has argued as if that island were as peaceful as it is fertile, and as secure for defence, or for a point of attack, as any department of the mother country. While we agree with him, in wishing that France could, by any safe means,

be deprived of the colony, we conceive that much less danger can result from her retaining it, than from its being transferred to the negroes, or even to the United States, possessed, as the federacy now is, of Louisiana. And even if France regains her authority in the island, we are convinced it must be for many years a pledge of peaceful conduct, in so far as its commerce and cultivation may be deemed valuable, and in as much as its internal organization must remain insecure.

From the commercial resources of France, our author proceeds to consider her prospects in a military point of view. After remarking that the national preeminence, acquired by accidental circumstances, such as the appearance of illustrious individuals, is necessarily short-lived, he inveighs against the 'invidious doctrine,' as he terms it, that a people, fighting in their own cause, are more energetic and effective, than a nation contending for lawful rulers. He maintains, that the rabble will always pass from one master to another; that national spirit is of no avail, without obedience to a chief; and that a country possesses military strength exactly in proportion to its population and means of subsistence. On this, it is obvious to remark, that the spirit with which a nation is animated, must always enter as an element into the calculations of the force which may be derived from its numbers and wealth. An undisciplined rabble is not, indeed, a very dangerous enemy, in whatever cause it attempts to act. But it is to be hoped that order may easily be united with zeal, and that the feeling of interest which inspires a multitude in a particular contest, may lead them to act against the enemy with the force derived from discipline, as well as the vigour that may be excited by the passions—may at once increase their spirit of subordination, and inflame their desire of conquest. We fondly cherish such hopes, more especially in the present crisis, because we conceive there is no other prospect of safety for England.

The natural advantages of France in a military point of view, our author conceives to be just twenty *per cent.* higher than those of any other continental territory equally extensive and populous. Austria, he allows, may, with a population of twenty millions, maintain a peace establishment of 260,000 men. And France, having thirty millions of inhabitants, must, by the proportion just now stated, be able to support an army of 450,000. By a similar application of his rule, he estimates the war establishments of Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and the Germanic powers, at 760,000; of which 370,000 would be necessary for the internal arrangements of those states, while France could send beyond the frontiers an acting army of 390,000 men.

In point of revenue, her advantage is still greater. She can raise, by an average assessment of 15 *per cent.* on the national income, as much as all the other independent powers of the continent can procure by a burthen of 30 *per cent.* The *data* by which this part of his calculation is supported, are peculiarly gratuitous and unauthorised. How can this man, or any man, tell, that the Austrian landholders pay altogether just 33 *per cent.* of their income, the cultivators or peasants 50 *per cent.* and the burghers 20 *per cent?* We know that the Bavarian peasantry have generally been reckoned the most oppressed of any in the empire; and Mirabeau computes *their* burthens at only 44 *per cent.* of their income, estimating the latter so low as 5 *per cent.* on their stock. But we give almost as little credit to the one as to the other of these random valuations.

The military organization of France is described by our author as peculiarly well adapted to call forth the whole energies of the people. There are more than six millions able to bear arms, and two millions and a half of these are between eighteen and twenty-three years of age. No degree of rank or wealth exempts men from conscription; and this evil, so much inveighed against, is only hard upon the opulent and indolent part of the community. We doubt extremely if the conscription be practically of this universal and unsparing operation. If it be, the danger from the republican constitution is indeed imminent to the rest of Europe; but we imagine it must be short-lived in the same proportion. A state of things, more incompatible with internal stability and the development of national resources, could not easily be figured.

The frontier of the republic, always strong, and flanked as it now is by the most advantageous works (Holland, Switzerland, and Italy), is considered by our author, and we think most justly considered, as formidable to all her neighbours in an unprecedented degree. Her colonies, however unnecessary to a nation possessed of such internal capabilities, are extremely important as stations from which Great Britain may be attacked in her tenderest point—her foreign settlements and trade; and as the means, also, of commanding either the property, or, if it shall be deemed more advantageous, the commerce, of the Spanish and Portuguese territories in the New World. In Europe, we are told, that France may soon add a navy to her present enormous forces; but that her ships of war will probably be still found unequal to cope with those of Britain—and that most danger is to be apprehended from her light flotillas, not only in Europe, but in the colonies. Our author adds, that depôts are preparing along the north coast of France for 1500 or 2000 light vessels

always to be kept in readiness, and that the same system is to be extended to America and the West Indies. This we really believe was written during a period of apparently profound peace, and deserves some attention.

The remaining part of the speculations on France, is occupied with an inquiry into the line of conduct which she will probably pursue towards the only two powers which can now give her any trouble, Russia and England. The substance of our author's opinion upon this interesting topic, may be comprised in a few simple propositions.

1. France and Russia are the only powers in modern Europe that have acted systematically for any considerable length of time. (He seems to forget the whole history of Prussia.) The plans of Louis XIV. have now been completed; the dependence of Spain secured; the sovereignty of Holland acquired, and Austria greatly weakened. Between France and Russia there is only a frontier and a few neutral ports. The object of the former is to overcome the latter; and for effecting this, it will be enough if she obtains an ascendancy in the affairs of Turkey; a consideration which sufficiently explains her uniform repugnance to take any joint measures with Russia against the Porte. But,

2. France will begin by endeavouring to rid herself of all incumbrances which might hang upon her rear; and will, therefore, remain at peace with Russia, until she can secure the defensive inactivity of Great Britain. This she expects to command, by affording no points of attack, and by completing the ruin of our finances; an object easily attainable, she thinks, by forcing us to keep up expensive preparations, and by excluding us from the commerce of the continent.

3. Our author conceives the rupture of France and Russia to be the most fatal issue of the present crisis to the other powers of Europe. It must terminate in the universal sovereignty of either one or other of those overgrown states.

We shall now shortly indicate what appear to us the fundamental errors in all those dogmas. Admitting that France could reduce Britain to inactivity by the means above specified, it does not seem to follow that such inactivity would be more than temporary. As soon as the rest of the plan was attempted,—as soon as France began to attack the rest of the European powers,—Britain would be at full liberty to repay, as she has often before repaid, their cowardly or jealous backwardness in her cause, by making a diversion in their favour, and assisting them to repel the common enemy. But farther—Although we were to admit that Austria and Prussia are unable, by their union, to resist the power of France or of Russia, it would by no means follow, that

they could oppose no barrier to her attacks upon Russia, or that they could not give a check to Russia, were she to form the design of penetrating into the west of Europe. And it is very evident, that while the existence of those states is continued, even if they are reduced to a subordinate rank, they must be ready to avail themselves of the rupture which may take place between the great eastern and western members of the federal commonwealth. Nay, such a rupture will even give the still more dependent branches of the community, the northern powers, Italy and Spain, the power of throwing off that yoke under which they at present groan. While Britain is attacking France, and while Spain, for example, shall be able to maintain a fleet of sixty sail of the line, according to our author's estimate, (p. 65, note), is it not clear, that so important a state will find it easy to shake off its dependence at the first change of fortune which may attend the French arms? If, on the other hand, Russia should remain master of the field, can she at once retain her dominion over the enemy whom she shall have subdued, and forge chains for the allies by whose assistance she has conquered? We see no proof whatever in these 'Sketches,' that the present situation of affairs, dismal as it is in some respects, particularly in regard to the lesser states of Europe, will lead to a total dereliction of those sound and natural principles of policy which have hitherto preserved the independence of the chief nations in the European commonwealth.

We have one more remark to offer upon the unqualified license of calculation which our author uniformly assumes, whenever it is necessary for his argument, to exalt the probable force, or wealth or energy of either France or Russia. He thinks it sufficient to consider the natural advantages of those states, and to contemplate the tendency of such resources to expand in the course of a few years. He forgets that a proportional or a greater augmentation may in the same time be preparing the other states for coping with the increased forces of those two powers; and that nothing is more likely to accelerate this contemporary progress, than the very circumstance which renders it so desirable. This consideration is too obvious to require farther illustration. It is exemplified in the whole course of modern history; it is presented to us by a view of the comparative advances which the nations of Europe have made in all the branches of their wealth, their accomplishments, and their direct military power; it applies to every speculation in which our author has indulged—to his estimates of manufacturing and mercantile resources, as well as to his estimates of revenue and force; and it tends in no small degree to dispel the apprehen-

sions which his gloomy pencil might have raised in those who contemplate his very partial 'Sketches' of our political views.

II. The next object of attention is the Russian empire; and in this branch of his speculations the author has, in our opinion, displayed both more sobriety and more acuteness of thought. The introductory observations, however, bear the same marks of a presumptuous and hasty investigation, which we so frequently recognised in the former part of his work.

He lays it broadly down, that the interests of Russia, (which form the sole guide of the government), are as little connected with those of other nations, as the court etiquette at Peking is with the ceremonies of the conclave at Rome. She has no natural ally. Her frontiers are

—'one half surrounded with an unnavigable ocean; six-sevenths of the other half are covered with Asiatic nations and wandering tribes, and mistress of the Baltic and Black Sea; the remaining part is inaccessible; that is, the space, we may say isthmus, between Riga and Oczakow, is the only frontier the Russian government has to guard; and Europe cannot organize a force that could now make any impression on that quarter. Were the hero of Marengo, with all his veterans, on the banks of the Boristhenes, it is by no means likely that he would risk a *journée de Pultava.*' p. 108.

Instead of enumerating any of the various arguments which immediately suggest themselves to refute this strange doctrine—strange at least in the extent to which it is here pushed—we may only refer to the greater part of the speculations into which the author has himself entered in the preceding half of his work; more especially to the following passage, so singularly demonstrative of his detached and exclusive manner of viewing each part of his subject.

'In the present state of things, can Russia and republican France go mutual sharers in the trade and government of the Turkish empire? This is by no means likely; nay, we may venture to say, it is impossible. Which of the parties then is to give up its pretension? The cabinet of Petersburgh must certainly know, that should the Consulate be allowed to assume an ascendancy at Constantinople, or to intermeddle in the affairs of Turkey, the fate of Moscow may again be disputed at Pultava!' p. 72.

We likewise find him roundly asserting, by some unaccountable mistake or caricature of the economical theory, that the inhabitants of any country who live by trade and manufactures, 'are not only themselves unprofitable consumers, but their subsistence and gains are taxes or burthens on the industry and consumption of others.' (p. 182.) 'The expense of this class in England is greater,' he adds, 'than that of the whole Russian army; but while the latter is now and then adding a new kingdom to the

empire, the former are depressing the national spirit, and corrupting the morality of their country.'—This has certainly not even the paltry merit of a good paradox, and may be ranked with the author's own peculiar notions of the corn-trade or the land-tax.

The length to which our remarks have already extended, prevents us from entering into a minute discussion of the doctrines maintained in the dissertation upon the foreign relations of the Russian empire. Although we are very far from agreeing with our author in the conclusions which he forms on this important subject, we think he has stated them with some force, and, in many points, has argued the question with considerable plausibility.—Much of his reasoning is, however, founded upon facts which we have no opportunity of verifying; and the most important part of these facts, the assertions respecting the contraband trade of the neutral powers, consists of secret history, or allusions to private anecdotes, not authenticated by references to a single name. We entertain more than suspicions of his whole information with regard to the conduct of the British diplomatic affairs in the northern courts during the late war.

Russia, our author maintains, has little or no interest in the commerce of Europe. Her immense resources are all internal and independent. With scarcely any frontier to defend, she has the most ample means of annoying both Europe and Asia. Great Britain cannot invade her sovereignty of the Baltic, without the co-operation either of Sweden or Denmark, all chance of obtaining which has been entirely lost, together with the good-will of the rest of the world, by the unjust and irritable conduct of the late administration. He inveighs with peculiar bitterness against the whole proceedings of Great Britain towards the secondary powers, and particularly, those of the Baltic; and accuses her of first forcing them into the arms of Russia, and then wreaking upon their heads, that vengeance which she dared not vent against the Great Northern Empire. He draws a comparison between the conduct of Britain and France towards the allies whom they wish to gain over, and determines the preference clearly in favour of the latter.—He is decidedly of opinion, that Russia will soon make an attempt upon our dominions in the East; and recommends, in a very earnest manner, the acquisition of Brazil by this country. All these topics, which we have only sketched with conciseness as the results of his speculations, are illustrated at length, and many of them with much ingenuity. We particularly refer to his remarks upon the conduct of affairs in the Baltic; his statements respecting the difficulties, we fear the insurmountable difficulties, of repeating in that quarter the naval campaign

of 1801, and, still more, of extending our attacks to the Swedish or Russian ports; and his observations on the means which Russia possesses of annoying our East Indian empire.

III. In the last part of these 'Sketches,' entitled, 'France and Russia,' we are presented with a view of the consequences which may result to Great Britain from the continued alliance of those powers. It is obvious that such an inquiry must involve in a great measure a repetition of the previous speculations. We shall only notice, in a very general way, the substance of such of our author's conclusions as have not already come under our review.

He contends that the two great nations will endeavour to unite the East Indian powers against Britain, and encourage disaffection among the British and native troops; that they will in like manner seduce the West Indian colonists, by a promise of extending their market, and intimidate them by threats of underselling, or of conquering them; that they will prevent Great Britain from receiving supplies of grain either from Europe or America; spare no expence to create mutiny among our forces, and dissensions among our manufacturers; and carry on an unceasing war against our finances in every quarter of the globe. Such are the *indirect* and secret measures of hostility to which we shall be exposed; and in order to counteract them, several expedients are pointed out by this bold and ingenious projector. We must entirely conquer the native princes of the Peninsula; and, after consolidating our Indian empire by force, we must secure its future growth, as well as the continuance of subordination, by reforming the internal administration, destroying all the settlements of foreign nations, and abolishing the monopoly: We must at once secure our West Indian property and compel other nations to permit a free colony trade, by laying open the commerce of our own settlements. At home, we must cultivate our waste lands, abolish all premiums and bounties in the provision trade, and treat our forces with liberal attention; employing our land troops, during peace, in national improvements, and our seamen in the extension of the fisheries. He adds, that we ought perpetually to watch the operations of the enemy; and to consider every act of preparation, not instantly explained, as a ground of hostility. The other remedies for the injuries which our finances may sustain, are vaguely and unintelligibly stated.

The measures of *direct* hostility to which the alliance of France and Russia must expose this country, are next described. They consist, chiefly, in the formidable armament of above 230 sail of the line, between two and three thousand small craft, and 300,000 land forces, by which they will surround us from North Bergen

to Cadiz; thus hemming us in upon every side, and compelling us to concentrate all our strength at home; while they carry into effect their favourite purpose of dismembering the more remote parts of the British empire. In the Mediterranean a fleet of 65 sail of the line, with small craft in proportion, will be stationed to protect the south of Europe from our attacks, and to cover the projected descent upon our eastern settlements. In the west, our chief danger arises from flotillas and other light armaments. To defend this island, the author decidedly prescribes the plan of multiplying our naval stations on the east coast, and maintains that the system of blocking up an enemy in his ports, at all times extremely difficult, will be utterly chimerical in the juncture now under contemplation. The same object may, however, be attained with complete certainty, he thinks, by a fleet of 40 sail stationed between the Downs and Buchanness, at points where they may have good anchorage and proper sea-room. The security of our affairs in the East and the Mediterranean is to be commanded by the possession of Malta, or some such impregnable station between Toulon and the Dardanelles. The projects of the enemy in the West Indies are to be opposed, our empire there augmented, and our whole dominions, in every quarter of the globe, raised both in wealth and in military strength, by the acquisition of Brazil, or of some territory advantageously situated, and fit for the creation of a powerful army; and by maintaining, at the same time, a right intelligence with the United States upon the distribution of the larger islands.

On the many curious and important questions to which these various schemes give rise, we do not purpose at present to offer any remarks. We must, however, observe, that it would be unfair to judge hastily of several of them, which, like all projects of political change, when superficially viewed, and detached from the facts and arguments that lead to their formation, appear very rash and extravagant. It seems to us, on the contrary, that many very plausible speculations are suggested by our author in support even of what timid reasoners may be disposed to call his wildest projects. And we are convinced, that several important considerations, of which he seems not to have been aware, may be urged in favour of the extension of our colonial dominions, at least in the New World—a part of his theory which will probably startle most of his readers.

ART. IV. *Prize Essays and Transactions of the Highland Society of Scotland.* To which is prefixed, an Account of the Principal Proceedings of the Society, since 1799. By Henry M'Kenzie Esquire, one of the Directors. Vol. II. Edinburgh, Creech, Hill, and Constable. 1803. 8vo. pp. 556.

IN the account prefixed to the first volume of these Transactions, we are informed, that the objects of the Society are, 1. An inquiry into the present state of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and the condition of their inhabitants: 2. An inquiry into the means of their improvement: and, 3. An attention to the preservation of the language, poetry, and music of the Highlands. Before we proceed to particularize and to examine the papers which are contained in this second volume, it may not be improper to premise a few observations on each of these objects.

It is evident, that no regular and systematic plan of improvement can be laid down or pursued, until the present situation of the Highlands, and of their inhabitants, is fairly and fully ascertained. Those particular plans, indeed, which have been found to answer, in carrying on the improvement of other countries, may afford some general principles, which must be serviceable even in the Highlands; but this district of the empire differs in so many material points from every other, that the information which may be derived from the systems of improvement pursued in other countries, will either be too general, and consequently in a great degree useless, or, if adopted experimentally, will be found in many particulars inapplicable, if not prejudicial. We are therefore surprised that, in the two volumes which the Highland Society have published, there is only one very short and unsatisfactory paper on the obstacles to improvements in the Highlands. As we can entertain no doubt of the sincerity and zeal of the Society, we certainly expected, before this time, to have received, at their hands, a full, clear, and impartial account, not merely of the soil, climate, and produce of the Highlands, but also of those obstacles to their improvement, which are known to exist in the prejudices and indolence of the peasantry, and in the state of dependence or vassalage in which they are generally held by their tacksmen. It is absurd to expect, that the Highland peasantry will be inclined to take the trouble, and to run the risk of introducing the culture of wheat, rye, cabbages, &c. all of which are recommended in these Transactions, unless it be previously ascertained, from a fair representation of the soil and climate of their country, not only that they can be raised, but that they will be

productive of more advantage than can be derived from any other mode of employing their ground.

With regard to the second object of the Society—an inquiry into the means of improving the Highlands, we apprehend, that they ought, at the very commencement of their proceedings, to have applied themselves to the determination of a few general questions, and to have been guided, in their particular inquiries, by the results of such investigations. In this way, it appears to us, that they ought, first of all, to have ascertained, whether it would be better to extend the culture of *grain*, or to keep the Highland districts entirely in *pasture;* and if the propriety and utility of the latter measure had been determined, to have then discussed, whether the Highlands ought to be stocked with *black cattle* or with *sheep*. In the Appendix to the second voloume, a premium is offered for the best essay on the introduction of sheep farming. If this question had been previously discussed with ability and fairness, with the assistance of full information respecting the produce and population resulting from the present agriculture of the Highlands, the pages now occupied with essays on arable husbandry, would have been more usefully filled with important practical observations on the proper breeds of sheep, and their management. It would not be difficult to prove, that by the introduction of the sheep husbandry, a much greater quantity of food would be raised at much less expence, and with much less labour or risk. The objection is strong, merely when it appeals to our feelings, or to our national partiality: it will not bear to be examined cooly and fairly. Even if we grant that the necessary consequence of the introduction of the sheep husbandry would be, that many of the Highlanders would be obliged to leave their mountainous districts, and seek employment in the low country, it may very well be doubted, whether this step would not be productive of great national benefit, even without the sacrifice of any real individual happiness. At present, the Highlands afford a scanty and precarious subsistence to a thin population. The Highlanders themselves are indolent, because they perceive that no exertion or labour can secure them a subsistence from their own soil. Under the sheep husbandry, the Highlands would produce subsistence for at least four times as many human beings as they now maintain, while their present inhabitants, if they could not be employed in their native country, might find an ample and much more useful field for their exertions in a climate and soil that would more gratefully repay them. There is great reason to believe, however, that these benefits might be obtained, without the expatriation of thos individuals who still cling to their mountains with so affectionat

a partiality: if the sheep husbandry were introduced, and the fisheries properly managed, there would be employment for many more people than the Highlands now contain. The introduction of sheep would supply the raw material for the woollen manufactures; and the immense quantities of peat, and the powerful waterfals that abound in all quarters, would support machinery at little expense. Such a system would also be of service to the other parts of the empire. At present, some of the finest counties in England are almost entirely in pasture, though no doubt can be entertained that they are well suited for raising grain, and that, if thus employed, they would afford subsistence to a much greater number of inhabitants than they now do. If, therefore, the Highlands produced that quantity of animal food which these counties do at present, the latter might, by becoming chiefly arable, increase the population of the country. It is necessary, no doubt, that there should be a certain proportion of every farm devoted to the feeding of cattle, in order that manure may be supplied for the arable part; but, perhaps, it would be for the advantage of the kingdom, if those districts which are suited to the raising of grain, should have no more than that proportion set apart for the feeding of cattle—and if those which, from their soil, situation, or climate, were unfavourable to grain, should be principally set apart for the purposes of pasture. Another regulation, not unconnected with our present subject, may be suggested; that manufactures, in order that they might interfere as little as possible with agriculture, should, in general be established in grazing districts, where few hands are required by the farmer. We apprehend that none of our readers will consider these remarks as foreign to the present subject, whatever opinion they may entertain of their justness; as, certainly, in every attempt to improve the Highlands, it ought to be recollected that they form but a part of the empire; and every plan or suggestion ought to have reference to them, not as a separate whole, but as a dependent and connected part.

The third object of the Society—an attention to the preservation of the language, poetry, and music of the Highlands, we consider as in a great degree incompatible with the introduction of improvement. A difference of language not only presents a formidable barrier to the introduction of useful knowledge, but must also tend to perpetuate those prejudices which it is absolutely necessary to destroy, before any general or permanent improvement can take place. Every method, on the contrary, ought to be taken to identify the Highlander, in language and manners, with the other inhabitants of the empire; and his

prejudices, already very strong, ought not by any means to be cherished and continued. As the most effectual plans of improvement must, in the first instance at least, depend in a great measure upon strangers, every obstacle which is presented by a difference of language and manners, and by the powerful prejudices which the Highlanders entertain, ought to be done away as speedily and completely as possible.

We have been induced to offer these preliminary remarks from a firm conviction of the importance of the ultimate object which the Society has in view, and from a wish that they may, in all their proceedings, clearly perceive it, and pursue it by the most direct and effectual means. We shall now proceed to examine the several papers which compose the second volume.

The first paper is entitled 'An Essay on Peat, by the [late] Rev. Dr. Walker, Professor of Natural History in Edinburgh.' This essay, consisting of 136 pages, contains much useful and curious information, conveyed in a very loose and desultory manner. That part of it which relates to the chemical analysis of peat, is very inaccurate and incomplete. The reverend author appears to have been well acquainted with chemistry as it existed in the middle of the last century; but either to have entirely neglected, or to have learned very imperfectly, the important discoveries that have been made in that science by the labours of the last twenty years. It is evident, however, that whoever attempts to ascertain the chemical principles of vegetables, ought to have made himself perfectly acquainted with pneumatic chemistry, and the analysis of volatile products. At the same time, it must be confessed, that the following observations of Dr. Black, contained in a letter to Dr. Walker, and given by him in a note to this paper, are perfectly just and correct.

'The process hitherto named the chemical analysis of vegetables, cannot be considered as an analysis now, (since the discoveries in pneumatic chemistry.) It is to be viewed as a distinction, by which the natural combination of their principles is undone, and these principles enter into new combinations, very different from those that took place in the vegetable matter. In the uncorrupted vegetable matter, these principles are united together, with an arrangement and connexion of which we have not the smallest knowledge. We only know, that it is easily destroyed by heat and by putrefaction, which produce new arrangements and combinations of these principles, and thus form compounds endued with particular qualities, which did not exist in the vegetable matter before.' p. 29.

Among the inaccuracies into which the learned Doctor is betrayed, by his inattention to these particulars, we need only specify the following. At p. 24. he says, that '*calcareous earth*

is known to promote the putrefaction of animal and vegetable substances;' and that the peat of Lismore is very putrid, in consequence of its mixture with the limestone of the island. Now if, by calcareous earth, the Doctor means carbonate of lime, he is mistaken in asserting that *it* promotes the putrefaction of vegetable and animal matter. If he means quicklime, the instance he adduces is not to the point, as the limestone in the island of Lismore is certainly the carbonate of lime. Besides, in p. 55, he asserts, not very consistently, that no degree of putrefaction in peat earth could be discovered from the mixture of either mild or caustic lime.

The Doctor asks (p. 31.) why we should omit azote as one of the essential elements of plants, as they all afford volatile alkali on putrefaction. The fact is, that no vegetable substances, except the gramineous and cruciform plants (*tetradynamia*) afford ammonia on putrefaction.

After having enumerated and explained the properties of peat as a soil, the Doctor proceeds to consider what plants ought to be cultivated in it. We have already given it as our opinion, that the arable husbandry is not suited to the Highlands; and we think that the peat, there, would be most advantageously employed as fuel for manufactures or for lime-kilns: the Doctor's observations, however, may be useful to those *Lowland* proprietors or tenants who possess peat, though even by them, in most cases, peat would be more profitably employed as a manure than as a soil. Where it can be advantageously used as a soil, we would recommend the *red oat*, in preference to the Friesland, or indeed any other kind. The Doctor seems inclined to think, that bean crops would answer on mossy soils, as the root of this plant goes deep, and requires a soft soil: but it is well known, that in a soft soil, the bean, though luxuriant in straw, is by no means productive in seed, and would be found a very improper crop for mossy soils.

In the fourth division of the Doctor's essay, and in the second paper in this volume, by Lord Meadowbank, 'On making compost dunghills from peat moss,' very clear and full directions are given for this application of peat; and from the results obtained by Lord Meadowbank, in particular, after repeated and careful experiments with this compost, we think no farmer will hesitate to employ his peat rather as a manure than as a soil.

The third paper, 'On burning lime with peat, by Mr. Jonathan Radcliff,' presents a very clear detail of a process, by which peat may be used to supply the want, or to prevent the consumption of coals in lime-kilns.

The next essay, 'On the cattle and corn of the Highlands, by Dr. Walker,' is divided into five sections. In the first section it is admitted, that the crops of oats and bear (big) are often much damaged by bad seasons; and that 'the mildness of the climate on the coasts of the Highlands in winter, is greatly overbalanced by the want of those degrees of heat in summer, which prevail in the south, by a less early autumn, and by the frequency and violence of the winds and rain.' (p. 167.) Surely these circumstances point out the impropriety of endeavouring to extend the arable husbandry in these districts, and the necessity of effecting an entire and radical change in the system of improvement. The Doctor must certainly be mistaken in affirming, that the bear usually yields between ten and fifteen fold, notwithstanding the badness of the climate and the wretched state of husbandry. Unless, however, the quantity of seed be specified, this mode of ascertaining the produce is very vague and uncertain.

We should not wish to offer any stronger and more decisive facts to prove the necessity of removing black cattle, and substituting sheep, than those contained in the second section of this essay, 'On the state of the Highland cattle during winter.' Green crops, or grasses proper for hay, can never be raised in such certain abundance, as regularly to supply the cattle from the 1st of February to the end of April, if the Highlands, in general, were to be stocked with them. Some spots, no doubt, might be found, in which winter food, and consequently black cattle, might be introduced with advantage; but in hilly countries, and in a climate where the making of hay must be so very precarious, sheep ought, in general, to be preferred.

The plants recommended by the Doctor in the third section, are very proper for such spots in the Highlands as ought to be tilled, or kept in hay; and several of them might be advantageously cultivated in the Lowlands. Besides those enumerated, we would recommend to the attention of all farmers, who are possessed of a light sandy soil, the corn spurrey (*spergula arvensis.*) This plant is much cultivated in Brabant, Holland, and Germany, and is found to be a very nourishing and acceptable food to cattle, both when green and when made into hay.

The ruta baga was introduced into Sweden from Lapland, and not from this country, as the Doctor affirms; who, moreover, seems to confound the turnip-rooted cabbage with the Swedish turnip. Nothing can prove more clearly, that the Doctor paid but little attention to the soil and climate of the Highlands, than his indiscriminate recommendation of beans and peas, wheat, and the Tartarian oat. By his own account, clay is rarely to be found in these districts; and the most common soil is a hazel mould,

often participating largely of sand and gravel. Beans, therefore, we should think, are absolutely inadmissible. Tartarian oats are more apt to be lodged than any other kind, and are therefore improper in a climate so windy and wet. Peas, which answer well in England, are, in general, very uncertain and unproductive, even in the south of Scotland. Wheat is entirely out of the question. In whatever parts of the Highlands the arable husbandry can be followed, the following crops and rotation may, from their having succeeded in situations and a climate very similar, be safely recommended. 1. Turnips, or potatoes drilled; 2. Bear, or, *perhaps*, the common Scotish barley; 3. Grass seeds consisting of clover and rye grass, or any other of the numerous grasses which might be found to suit the climate and soil; and, 4. Red oats.

It is absurd to imagine (p. 202.) that seed corn brought from Norway would ripen in as short a space of time in the Highlands, as it did in its native country; since the essential circumstance is wanting in the Highlands, which accelerated its growth, viz. the very great difference between the temperature of the summer, and that of the winter, and the sudden and permanent change.

The two next essays, by Alexander Macnab and Duncan Stewart, containing 'Observations on the economy of black cattle farms under a breeding stock,' appear to be written by persons of much practical information, which is conveyed in a plain and perspicuous manner. The catalogue of diseases, to which the Highland cattle are liable, presents another powerful argument, why sheep should, in general, be introduced in their place; as we are informed by Mr. Macnab, that 'the distempers incident to Highland cattle, result chiefly from scanty feeding and want of water in winter.' Now, it is well known that sheep will live and fatten, where cattle would starve, and that they require very little water.

In the seventh Essay by (the late) Mr. Somerville, clear and decisive answers, founded on careful observations, and direct and repeated experiments, are given to the inquiries—'What are the stages of growth and ripeness, and what are the peculiar states of the weather, and other circumstances, in which corns, particularly oats, are rendered unfit for seed, by frost, or considerable degrees of cold, and by what changes or modifications of these stages, states or circumstances, do the powers of vegetation remain unhurt? Will oats, that are ill-filled, or ill-ripened, serve for seed; and, by what appearances can the point of distinction between the good and the bad be readily ascertained?'

In the 'Observations on the obstacles to the improvement of the Highlands,' the author particularly notices the distance at which many of the factors (stewards) reside, and their consequent ignorance of the improvements which particular districts may admit or require;—the numerous commons;—and the advantages which would result from long leases, and from raising plantations on the barren hills and moors.

Mr. Somerville, in the Ninth Essay, recommends the total eradication of heath, where the soil and climate will admit the cultivation of any more useful plant; and the burning of it in such a manner, as to destroy the tough, hard parts, and to afford room and nourishment for the tender and juicy shoots, in every situation where no plants of greater value can be produced. In order to effect the former purpose, the heath ought to be burnt in the autumn when it is in flower, as it may then be completely destroyed. But, when the object is to preserve the root, and to afford warmth and manure to the tender shoots, the operation ought to take place in the Spring. The tender and juicy shoots, which might thus be made to spring annually from the burnt heath, ought to be used not only for pasture, as Mr. Somerville directs, but also for hay. In Sweden this practice is commonly followed, and found to answer.

Mr. Angus M'Donald, in his paper 'on Manufactures,' offers some judicious observations on the linen and woollen manufactures of the Highlands;—points out the advantages, which they enjoy in those respects;—and suggests several different modes, in which they might be improved and extended. We perfectly agree with him, that the Highlands might, by proper management and encouragement, become the seat of valuable woollen manufactures; but we imagine, in that case, that the raising and manufacturing of flax would be generally given up, as comparatively uncertain and unproductive. We are surprised that he should lay it down as 'a fundamental maxim in commerce, that no manufacture can be firmly established in a country which does not produce the raw materials which it employs,' p. 242. What manufacture is more firmly established, and the source of employment and wealth to a greater number of persons, than the cotton manufactures of Lancashire and Glasgow? In direct opposition to what he says, respecting the profit arising from bees, we can positively affirm, that they are unprofitable in a climate much more favourable than that of the Highlands, p. 249.

The two next papers contain 'the plan of an inland village, by the Reverend Robert Rennie; and remarks on the plan, by Colonel Dirom.' This plan, if altered according to the sug-

gestions of the Colonel, would certainly be well calculated to secure health, cleanliness and convenience, all of which are very much neglected in the villages of Scotland:—but, till manufactures are established, it seems premature to be either building or planning villages. We entirely agree with Mr. Rennie, that in a manufacturing village, it is much better that every feuar (every person who pays a ground rent) should have only half as much as he might wish to have, than a single rood too much. p. 262. Where manufactures are introduced, the division of labour ought to be as complete as possible; but if every manufacturer possesses an acre or more, either his ground or his professional business must be neglected; and, if he hire the labour of another person, the produce of his land will most probably cost him more than its real value.

In the 'Extracts from an Essay on the Natural, Commercial, and Economical History of the Herring, by Dr. Walker,' we meet with almost all the facts which are known respecting the natural history of this fish;—a very long and tedious historical account of the herring fishery from its commencement in the fourteenth century to 1786;—and an enumeration of the causes which, in the opinion of the Doctor, have lately rendered this fishing so unproductive. One of the causes, it seems, is our injudicious imitation of the Dutch, in fishing with large vessels: we, on the contrary, are disposed to coincide with Mr. Headrick, who maintains, in a paper which will afterwards be considered, that if these large vessels were employed by us, as the Dutch employ them, in fishing in the open sea, herrings might be taken during more months, and at a time when they are in the highest perfection. The busses, at present, to which alone the bounty is given, are employed only in the lochs; and, when a shoal of herrings appear, send out their boats in such numbers, and with so much confusion, that they are both in a great measure unsuccessful themselves, and prevent the crews of those vessels which, on account of their small size, are not allowed the bounty, from attempting to fish at the same time.

We are strongly disposed to question the policy of granting any bounty; but if it be continued, it ought to be given to the busses, on the express provision, that they go out into the open sea, and there follow the Dutch mode of fishing; perhaps a similar bounty ought to be given to undecked vessels, which alone ought to be allowed to continue in the lochs. The method, which has been long practised near Gottenburgh, and which, on a smaller scale has lately been successfully adopted on the Fife coast, would most probably answer in the Highland lochs. In the neighbourhood of Gottenburgh, eight boats, each con-

taining two or three fishermen, draw one large net, enclosing a shoal of herrings, into a creek or small bay; and the fish being shovelled on the shore, the boats resume their work. The advantages of this mode, over that commonly practised, are evident and important.

We are surprised that only conjectures are offered on the food of the herrings. As the food soon becomes imperceptible in their stomachs, from their strong digestive powers, it is indeed impossible to ascertain all the kinds: but it is well known, that a small species of crab, the *cancer halecum*, which abounds in the north seas, is devoured by them in great quantities.

We consider it necessary merely to notice and to recommend the two next papers 'On the different sorts of herrings which frequent the coasts of Scotland; with observations on the present mode of conducting the herring fishery, by Mr. M'Kenzie;' —and 'An account of the Dutch herring fishery, with the placart of the states of Holland respecting it.' The latter paper ought to be circulated as widely as possible, and followed as closely as a difference of circumstances will admit.

In the four papers 'on the Natural History of the Salmon, by Dr. Walker, Mr. M'Kenzie, Mr. Morrison, and Archibald Drummond, Esq.' the facts and conjectures brought forward are, in general, rather curious than useful in a practical point of view. This observation applies principally and most strongly to Dr. Walker's paper, which is characterised by the same faults, as those papers of his which we have already noticed. It is full and minute, even to tediousness, in that part which can be interesting only to the naturalist; while it is defective, or merely conjectural, with regard to those circumstances which may be useful to the salmon fisheries. As the Doctor appears to have derived most of his information from books, and, in some instances, to have carelessly received it from the unexamined and uncompared testimony of others; it is no wonder that he not only differs from the other gentlemen, but advances what reflection might have taught him could not be the fact. In page 349, he describes the ridge which is raised by the salmon over the place where they deposit their spawn, as from 'three to five inches high.' Now, it is evident, that as this depositation always takes place where the stream is rapid, the ridge and the spawn would soon inevitably be swept away. Mr. Drummond (whose essay fully deserves the character given of it by the editor, p. 394, note), rectifies this mistaken notion, (in which, however, the Doctor is joined by all those naturalists who read, rather than observe and examine), and expressly asserts, that the gravel, under which the spawn is deposited, is always levelled

with a wonderful nicety (p. 402). If Mr. Morrison be correct, in asserting that the operation of spawning lasts eight or ten days (p. 390), we should be inclined to dissent from the commonly received opinion, that the spawn is laid all together in holes, and then covered with gravel, since, if it were left so long uncovered, it would necessarily be carried away by the stream. Some naturalists have been induced, from careful observation, to maintain, that the spawn is not covered up at all, but suffered to float down the stream till it naturally sinks to the bottom.

As it is of the utmost importance to know all the animals which are destructive to the salmon, the porpus (*delphinus phocæna*) and the seal (*phoca vitulina*) ought to have been mentioned by Mr. Drummond (p. 409). The former is often seen *cruizing* across the mouth of the Tweed, and not only destroying the salmon, but preventing them from entering the river. The latter sometimes pursues the salmon a considerable way up the river: they are also equally inveterate and destructive enemies of the herring.

Mr. Melvill, in his paper 'On the Fisheries of Scotland,' recommends that the mode of fishing for cod and ling pursued by the English and Dutch, should be adopted by the Scotch. The single, undoubted, and glaring fact, that the former nations, by their superior ingenuity, carry away immense quantities of these fish, from the very coasts of the latter, proves the propriety of this admonition. The remarks already offered, make it unnecessary to analyse or examine the latter part of this paper, which relates to the herring fishery.

The Rev. James Headrick, in his paper 'On Improvements in the Highlands,' appears carefully to have examined the country, before he offered his suggestions. They are, therefore, much more worthy of attention, than the crude ideas and fanciful speculations of those, who have no accurate or practical knowledge of the state of the country. The last section of this essay offers to our view a very probable source of employment and wealth, and, perhaps, the most proper application of the vast quantities of peat, in the Highlands. Mr. Headrick proposes, that an experiment should be tried, to ascertain 'whether charred peat might not answer as well in rendering iron malleable, or in converting it into steel, as charred wood,' (p. 466). If it were found to answer, iron-stones and bog-ore of iron might be obtained in great abundance in many parts of the Highlands. We have already expressed our doubts, how far the raising and manufacturing of flax or hemp, which Mr. Headrick recommends, would be practicable in the Highlands, or desirable, after the woollen manufactures were firmly and generally established. We

do not perceive how it can 'have been clearly *demonstrated*, that the mode of occupying land, which renders it capable of yielding the greatest rent to the proprietor, is also most beneficial to the public,' (p. 455). Pasture land, in many parts of the kingdom, yields as much rent, as arable land, to the proprietor; and yet it cannot be considered as equally beneficial to the public; since an acre under tillage will support many more people than an acre in pasture. The propriety of converting the Highlands into sheep walks, ought not to be rested on this principle, which is not only in many instances false, but will always be regarded with a suspicious eye by the bulk of mankind. No doubt, when it is applied to the Highlands, it is perfectly true, since a sheep farm, producing subsistence for a hundred people with the labour of ten, which, while under tillage, or stocked with cattle, could not support thirty people, though they all laboured on it, must of course afford a higher rent to the landlord, and benefit the public in a still greater degree; as the labour of the twenty spare hands may be rendered more profitable and successful.

The last paper contains an 'Account of the Culture and Produce of a Field of Potatoes in the vicinity of Leith, communicated by James Bell, Esq.

The 'Account and Description of the Manner of Preparing any ordinary Ship's Boat, so as to render it in the highest degree useful in Preserving Lives in cases of Shipwreck, by the Rev. James Bremner, contained in the Appendix, promises to be of great utility; as the Society, after having received a very favourable report of the boat from several competent judges, who examined and tried it, have directed copies of a description and delineation of it to be sent to the different sea-ports of Scotland.

On the whole, we consider the Dissertations on Rural Economy, which occupy a great part of this volume, as almost entirely inapplicable to the state of the Highland districts, and unnecessary in the other parts of the kingdom. More full, accurate, and impartial practical information must be obtained, before any general or permanent system of improvement can take place in the Highlands. The prejudices and indolence of the peasantry, and the feudal interests of the landlords, must not be suffered to interfere in the smallest degree. If work cannot be found for the former in their native country, it will be much better for the public, and ultimately for themselves, that they should go where it can be found, than that they should continue to exist and multiply in indolence and wretchedness at home, neither able to support themselves, nor willing that others should take their place. But we apprehend no removal would be necessary: The sheep husbandry would bring in with it manufactures, and, consequently, villages and towns;

which it is vain for the Society to plan, or the proprietors to build, (except on the sea-coast for the encouragement of the fisheries), while the present system of husbandry is followed. The landed interest ought certainly to consider the increase of rent, which the sheep husbandry would introduce, as a sufficient compensation for the loss of their feudal honours, power, and attendance.

If, beside an entire change in the system of husbandry, the fisheries, and the manufactures of woollen and bar iron were properly established and regulated, the Highlands, instead of being thinly peopled with an indolent and wretched race, would become the abode of industry and comfort, and support an increased population, not only in its own mountainous districts, but over every part of the empire.

ART. V. *A Comparative View of the Public Finances, from the beginning to the close of the late Administration.* By William Morgan, F. R. S. Second Edition. With a Supplement, containing an account of the Management of the Finances to the present time. London. Longman & Rees. 1803. 8vo. pp. 115.

SUCH of our readers as interest themselves in the financial affairs of Great Britain, must be well acquainted with the writings of this acute and diligent calculator. The tract now before us, may be considered as a continuation of his 'Facts,' published in the year 1796. The object of both these performances, is to substantiate the charge of extreme profusion of the public money against the late Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, in both, nearly the same mode of demonstration is adopted. Our author details the various *items* of the national expenditure—the loans negotiated for providing supplies—the differences between the sums received and the debt created—the permanent addition to our public burthens in consequence of the augmented debt—and the slowness of the process of liquidation, when compared with these augmentations. He lays before us a full view of all those circumstances of loss and burthen, and compares their extent, during the last war, with their extent during the Seven-years war, and the American war. He finds that the amount of the losses incurred, and burthens imposed in consequence of the financial operations which the late contest rendered necessary, exceed in a very great proportion the similar losses and burthens entailed upon the country by the two preceding wars, even after all due allowance is made for the different durations of the hostilities in the three periods; and he infers, that the ministers

under whose auspices such operations were carried on, are entitled, beyond any former administration, to the appellation of extravagant; that the late war has been ruinous beyond all previous example; and that the accumulated burthens of this country have now brought it to the very brink of destruction.

It is by no means our intention to follow Mr. Morgan through all the statements by which he supports these general positions. We shall, however, endeavour to exhibit a short abstract of the results of his calculations, which are formed apparently with great accuracy, and are certainly detailed in a very distinct and luminous manner. We shall then state the general objections which we have to urge against the conclusions which he has thought proper to found upon these premises.

I. The chief expences of a war-establishment, are those of the army, navy, and ordnance. The average amount of the annual charges referable to these heads during the five years of war from 1755 to 1759 (both inclusive) was somewhat less than 8,800,000l. the greatest expenditure in any one year was above 13 millions; and the whole actual expence of that period, exceeded the whole estimated expence in the proportion of 1.43 to 1 nearly. The average amount of annual charges during the five years of war from 1778 to 1782 (both inclusive) was somewhat less than 17,600,000l.; the greatest annual expenditure about 21¼ millions; and the proportion of the whole actual, to the whole estimated expences, nearly that of 1.76 to 1. The average of the annual charges during the five years of war from 1793 to 1797 (both inclusive), was above 25,800,000l.; the greatest yearly expenditure, about 29¼ millions; and the proportion of the whole actual, to the whole estimated expences, that of 1.92 to 1. In the five years from 1798 to 1802 (both inclusive), the average yearly expenditure was above 29,400,000l.; the greatest annual expence upwards of 34 millions; and the proportion of the whole actual, to the whole estimated expences, that of 1.27 to 1 nearly.*

II. In order to defray these extraordinary expences of the war establishment, loans to a great amount have always been required. During the seven-years war, from 1756 to 1762 (both inclusive), 48,600,000l. were raised in this way; during the American war, (1776 to 1782, both inclusive), 57½ millions were borrowed; during the first seven years of the late war, 141 millions, exclusive of the Imperial loan; and during the three last years,

* In the extraordinaries of this period, are reckoned various subsidies, viz. the Imperial, Russian, Portuguese, and Bavarian, which are all charged to the army extraordinaries.

nearly 76 millions were raised in the same manner. When these vast sums were borrowed, the credit of government was almost always so low as to render necessary the creation of a considerable fictitious capital of debt. In this way, the country, in consequence of its difficulties, and of the scarcity of capital, came to be loaded with a debt much greater in amount than the money really received from the lenders; that is to say, it became bound to pay interest for more than they actually advanced, and could only redeem the principal at par, by paying the whole nominal amount. Calculating the annuities according to their value at the period of their commencement, the difference between the funded debt created, and the money received, was, during the Seven-years war, near 9½ millions; during the American war, near 29 millions; during the first seven years of the last war, about 77¼, exclusive of the loss on the Imperial loan; and during the last three years of that war, above 39.

III. For paying the interest and other yearly expenses of the debt thus contracted, various permanent taxes have become necessary, besides those extraordinary contributions which were levied during that part of the last war when an attempt was made to raise the supplies within the year. The burthens imposed in consequence of the debt incurred during the Seven-years war, amount to above 1,900,000l.; the American war added nearly 3¼ millions; the seven first years of the last war rendered an increase of nearly 6¼ millions necessary; and the three last years of the war entailed upon the country a farther load of above 2,900,000l., not including the income tax, upon which upwards of 56 millions were secured, and the repeal of which rendered new permanent taxes requisite; so that the permanent addition made to the public burthens by the loans of the seven first years of the late war, may be reckoned at above 7½ millions, and the addition occasioned by the three last years, at more than 3½ millions.

We shall now endeavour to exhibit, in the form of a Table, a comparative view (according to the foregoing details) of the expenses, debts, and public burthens which have been occasioned by the three last wars; assuming the statements for the Seven-years war as unity, except where a proportion is given.

A GENERAL TABLE of the RELATIVE EXPENSES of the THREE LAST WARS, the Expense of the Seven-Years War being taken as Unity.

Effects of War Establishments.	Seven-Years War.		American War.		Late War. *From 1793 to 1802 (both inclusive.)*			
	Five first Years	*Seven Years.*	*Five first Years.*	*Seven Years.*	*Five first Years.*	*Five last Years.*	*Seven first Years.*	*Three last Years.*
Average annual expense of army, navy, and ordnance - - -	1.000	—	2.000	—	2.944	3.340	—	—
Greatest yearly expense of ditto - - - -	1.000	—	1.634	—	2.250	2.615	—	—
Proportion of actual to estimated expense of ditto - - - -	1.43:1	—	1.76:1	—	1.29:1	1.27:1	—	—
Total of money borrowed - - - - -	—	1.000	—	1.187	—	—	2.900	1.563
Difference between money received and debt created - - - -	—	1.000	—	3.052	—	—	8.131	4.105
Taxes occasioned by debt contracted -	—	1.000	—	1.705	—	—	3.947	1.842
Total increase of the funded debt - -	—	1.000	—	1.487	—	—	3.772	1.993
Columns.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.

This Table condenses the whole argument which can be drawn against the late war, and the financial operations that accompanied it, from contrasting its expenses with those of the glorious contest which gained America and India, or with those of the disastrous struggle which deprived us of half our foreign dominions, and shook our whole empire. By comparing columns I, III, V, and VI, an estimate is easily formed of the relative effects produced by the three wars, during the same period of five years; a comparison of columns II, IV, and VII, exhibits the relative effects of the wars during the same period of seven years; and the VIII. column continues the comparison through the last three years of the late war. All Mr. Morgan's accusations against the late administration, derived from comparing it with former ministries, are therefore comprehended in this Table; while the whole case is thus brought forward, as well as the part favourable to his side of the question.

'From these statements (says our author) the predecessors of Mr. Pitt, by a system of progressive extravagance, appear, during the course of a century, to have accumulated a debt of two hundred and thirty-two millions, which their more prodigal successor, in seventeen years, has increased to more than five hundred millions. Compared, therefore, with those of the late minister, how weak and contemptible are all former exertions! The mass which, in other hands, required one hundred years for its formation, has, under his management, been doubled in one twentieth part of the time; and the nation, long accustomed to regard the approach of the debt to one hundred millions as an approach to certain bankruptcy and ruin, have been led, by the experience of his administration, to believe that public credit is almost as boundless as ministerial profusion. Besides the addition of three hundred millions to the funded debt of the kingdom within the last eight years, a further sum of six millions Sterling has been annually raised, from the year 1798, by triple assessments, voluntary contributions, income-tax, convoy duty, and other measures of finance, equally new and extraordinary. Had these enormous sums been procured, like the rest of the supplies, by the usual method of a loan, it would have appeared that the expenditure of the present war had already added above three hundred and fifty millions to the capital of the Public Debt, or one hundred and twenty millions more than all the wars that have desolated the country since the Revolution.' p. 13, 14.

The means by which the late ministry were enabled to borrow such vast sums, and to provide for the interest of the loans, are discussed by Mr. Morgan in a superficial and partial manner. The negociation of loans could not, he thinks, be facilitated by the opulence of the nation, nor by the state of its credit, since the poor-rates have been rapidly increasing, and the funds have been lower than in any former period of our history. As soon as

the terms of borrowing began to rise considerably, various expedients were adopted for raising great part of the supplies within the year. During three years, extraordinary burthens were imposed, in the form of triple assessments, voluntary contributions, and income tax, until, the whole of the new system of finance being found inadequate, and the calculations of its productive powers being completely disappointed, recourse was again had to the funding system; and this has been revived with increased vigour, partly in consequence of the relief given to the funds by the new measures of the former years, but principally in consequence of the suspension of specie payments at the Bank of England, which enables that body to assist speculators with unlimited credit, and of the disastrous state of trade which turns an unnatural proportion of the national capital into the public funds. He roundly ascribes the stoppage of bank payments to the exportation of specie occasioned by the foreign loans and subsidies. The means adopted for providing the interest upon the new loans, have been taxes which are chiefly productive during a season of war; and many of them have already failed in supplying the requisite sums. If, before the peace, those imposts presented a deficit of half a million, our author predicts that more than eight times this sum will be wanting after the war is concluded. With respect to the surplus of the consolidated fund, a full and clear statement is given of the effects which the war produced upon that part of the resources; and it is proved, we think, with sufficient precision, that Mr. Pitt's estimates of the increase were generally much above the truth. According to our author, it would appear that, during several years of the war, the statement of certain sums as arising from the surplus, was only a transference to the same amount from monies raised by loan, or, in other words, certain sums were borrowed and applied in defraying the charges upon the consolidated fund, in order to be stated as a surplussage in the produce of that fund. He admits, however, that in the earlier part of the war, the real surplus was considerable, at one time even much greater than its average amount during the previous years of peace. As to the state of the fund during the present administration, our author declares that it is almost impossible to comprehend this or any other part of the finances, from the great obscurity and confusion which prevails through the whole revenue department. Several examples which he gives are, if accurately stated, sufficiently demonstrative of this severe charge.

'In short,' he observes, 'the further we proceed in investigating the statements given of the public finances, the more we shall find the

difficulty increase of obtaining any satisfactory information from them. I do not know, indeed, that these accounts were ever remarkable for their perspicuity, or for according with each other. But what was formerly perplexed is now rendered unintelligible; and the task of thoroughly understanding the present system of finance, is become as hopeless as the attempt to reform it.' p. 95.

We have now laid before our readers the substance of the grounds upon which Mr. Morgan accuses the late administration of unexampled profusion, and predicts the ruin of the finances from the disasters entailed by the late war on our national revenue. Without entering into a minute detail of the objections that may be urged against his statements, we shall proceed to point out, as briefly as possible, the general defects which we perceive in the chain of his argument, more especially in that very important link of it, which connects all his calculations and facts with the conclusions they are made to support.

In the *first* place, admitting the general method of reasoning to be correct, which our author adopts, it may be observed, that the case made out against the financial operations of the late war, by the comparative view formerly given, is far from being so strong as he would have it to appear. The argument, in this point of view, appears to be, that all the disastrous consequences of the Seven-years war, were aggravated in the American war; and that, in the late contest, the evil has advanced with strides still more gigantic. Now, this is by no means consistent with the detail, as may be seen from the comparative table above drawn up. Several very important effects of the war establishment upon the finances of the country, are proved, by that table, to have increased in a much smaller proportion during the late war, compared with the American, than during the American compared with the Seven-years war. The average expense of the military and naval departments, for instance, was twice as much in the American as in the Seven-years war. The same expense was increased by considerably less than one half in the late war, compared with the American. Had the proportion been continued, that is, had the expense of the late war borne to the expense of the American war, the same proportion which the expense of the American bore to that of the Seven-years war, the military and naval establishment would have been as 4.000 instead of 2.944 (Table, col. V.) The same remark may be made upon the greatest annual expenditure, and upon the excess of the actual above the estimated expenses of the war. In the still more important article of the fictitious capital added to the debt by those wars, the late war appears also to fall short of the proportion. The difference between the money received and the stock created, was above three times greater in the Ame-

rican than in the Seven-years war. This difference was, in the last war, much less than three times its amount in the American war. (See Table, col. II. IV. & VII.) A great number of material considerations have therefore been altogether omitted by Mr. Morgan on one side of the account, while he is endeavouring to strike a balance.

But we may observe, in the *next* place, that such comparisons are extremely unfair, if made without a much fuller consideration of circumstances. The successive wars in which a state engages at short intervals of time, are far from being unconnected with each other in a financial point of view. They are not insulated events, which may be compared without any allowance for their reciprocal influence. The credit of the country, in every contest, is necessarily affected by the event of the several previous contests which have in former years brought it into difficulties. If fifty millions were added to the public debt in the Seven-years war, much more than the same sum must have been added to the debt in the American war, in order to raise as much money as was formerly procured for fifty millions. And, in like manner, the amount of the debt in consequence of the two previous wars, necessarily rendered its increase more rapid during the late war than it would have been, if no former burthens of this nature had existed.

But, in the *third* place, we have a general and peremptory objection to the whole method of argument used by Mr. Morgan in this performance. His object is to prove, not that our expenses have been increased, but that our government has been extravagant. Now, we do not conceive it possible to estimate the extravagance of government during any war, by merely summing up the money disbursed, and the debt contracted. This is only one side of the account; and to infer, from the result of the calculation, any positive charge of profusion against those who superintended the disbursement, is to be guilty of the same error that a merchant would commit, were he to boast of his profits, or complain of his losses, without striking a balance in his books. Mr. Morgan, in fact, endeavours to solve the question, without attending to the necessary *data;* and the whole result of his calculation must, of consequence, be indeterminate. There are only two ways in which a war can be demonstrated to be extravagantly carried on. Either we may deny its necessity and utility, which are indeed one and the same thing; or maintain that the same object might have been obtained at a smaller expense. Mr. Morgan expressly disclaims all political discussions that are not necessarily involved in his examination of our finances: but we conceive that the political question of the origin of the war, on the one hand, and

the peculiar method of conducting its expenditure, on the other, *are* necessarily involved in the inquiry which he has undertaken to conduct. In his former works, he seemed to be aware of this consideration; for he there attempted to show, that the loans might have been negociated on terms more advantageous to the public. In the present essay, he never once points at any such comparison; and, without a proof of this nature, or a demonstration that the war ought not to have been waged, or, if waged, that it could have been carried on with smaller military and naval establishments, or a statement of the savings which might have been made in the disposal of the revenue, all his calculations of the absolute amount of loans, expenditure and taxes, present us only with a view of one side of the account—one part of the *data*, from which no conclusion whatever can be drawn as to the profusion or economy of the Government.

Such being our general objection to the political logic of Mr. Morgan in this pamphlet, we are the less anxious about the particular arguments which he has taken occasion to intermix with his calculations. The melancholy prospect which he holds out of the diminution that the revenue appropriated to defray the expense of the debt must experience after a peace, has been contradicted by the immense increase of that revenue during the last two years. The idea of the unlimited issue of bank paper allowing every needy speculator to bid for loans in safety, is too obviously inconsistent with the facts respecting the bank business, to require any detailed refutation. The notion, that the unfavourable course of exchange which led to the suspension of cash payments at the bank was produced by the exportation of bullion to subsidize foreign princes, can scarcely be deemed any thing less than thoughtless and violent party declamation, in one who is so well acquainted with the vast commercial resources of this island, who states the whole amount of the foreign subsidies at little more than the comparatively paltry sum of five millions, and who ought to be acquainted with the plainest principles of this branch of political economy. In fact, notwithstanding our author's apparent predilection for arguments strictly arithmetical, and his careful disavowel of any desire to enter upon political topics, we cannot help suspecting that he has adopted this mode of reasoning from figures, as the most plausible and specious plan of attacking the financial operations of the late ministry, and has avoided the discussion of more general subjects, only because the result of such a discussion must have essentially affected the application of his political arithmetic to the question at issue. In spite of the purely arithmetical guise in which he attempts to veil his speculations, and the unquestionable skill with which he conducts all his numer-

ical operations, we have no hesitation in pronouncing the performance to be completely factious in its whole design and execution, and eminently inconclusive in its principles of reasoning.

ART. VI. *Travels from Hamburg, through Westphalia, Holland, and the Netherlands, to Paris.* By Thomas Holcroft. Two vol. 4to. with folio plates. pp. 950. London, Philips, 1804.

FROM the pen of Mr. Holcroft we expected at least something amusing; but the greater part of this work does not rise above the denomination of light reading; and light reading, when it is dilated into two capacious quartos, is apt to become as burdensome to the intellect as matter more substantial.

These travels are evidently composed in imitation of the Sentimental Journey of Sterne; and the model has been copied with such scrupulous exactness of imitation, that none of its faults are omitted. The offensive familiarity, the affected oddity and abruptness, the frequent interjections, the apostrophes to imaginary persons, the egotism and levity that distinguish the style of Sterne, are at least as remarkable in his imitator, as his wit, pathos, or originality. Such a manner of writing could only please, we should imagine, in the hands of the original inventor; and though it might help to set off a series of appropriate fictions, was evidently unsuitable for a distinct and continued narrative of real occurrences. Such is the style, however, which Mr. Holcroft has thought proper to adopt as the vehical of all that profound observation, authentic anecdote, and philosophical description, by which he flatters himself that he has paved the way to 'the formation of an universal and permanent code of ethics.' Of the common offences of such imitators, vulgarity, pertness, and trifling or absolute silliness, Mr. Holcroft has certainly his full share to answer for: It would be unjust, however, not to add, that he is occasionally lively, ingenious and amusing; that he is generally good-natured and tolerant; and that there is an air of authenticity in most of his narratives, that recommends them to the belief of the reader, in spite of the affectation of the language in which they are delivered.

The professed object of Mr. Holcroft's book is to delineate the manners of the people among whom he travels; and by fixing the facts and the philosophy of national character in the most important part of Europe, to enlarge the sphere, and increase the accuracy of our moral observations. He contrives, however, not to be very much constrained by the exclusive nature of his object; for whenever he finds himself disposed to describe a building, a

picture, or a dinner, he immediately discovers that the manners and character of a people cannot possibly be better elucidated than by an inquiry into their taste in architecture and the other arts of refined life. In devoting himself to the delineation of national manners, Mr. Holcroft was probably determined, not merely by the great interest and attraction of the subject, but, in some degree, by a consciousness of the limits of his own qualifications. To the naturalist—the man of science—the agriculturist—the merchant, or even the admirer of the picturesque, he does not pretend to be capable of afforded either information or delight.

This book is entitled, *Travels*, through Holland, Westphalia, &c. to Paris: but the reader will be grievously disappointed, if he expects to be amused with a moving picture, or a succession of new scenes and adventures through the whole of the performance. About one third of the first volume conducts Mr. Holcroft and his family from Hamburg to Paris; and the remaining 800 quarto pages are entirely occupied with the description of that city, and with a full and particular account of every thing the author saw, heard, did, read, felt, thought or imagined, during the eighteen months that he remained among its inhabitants.

Mr. Holcroft begins his work with some good plain observations upon the pain of parting with friends, and gives us a sober, dull narrative of the manner in which he was cheated by his landlady at Hamburg;—but he does not grovel long in this vulgar track; in the third page he flies off in this dramatic exclamation.

'How forgetful I am! Or rather how much I have to remember! Do, my good and dear Doctor, accompany these ladies, to whom you have always been so friendly, as far as the boat. I must run to the banker, and the bookseller, and above all to the man who has so disinterestedly and essentially served me, the friend whom I shall not easily forget, Mr. Schuchmacher; with whom I have still some business to arrange.

'When did M******* refuse a kind office?' p. 3.

He gets over all his engagements, however, and arrives at the boat-house soon enough, as he elegantly expresses it, 'to take a parting glass' with his friends.

The next chapter sets off with this splendid specimen of the *onomatopoeia*—which is meant, it seems, to represent the action of smoking a pipe.

'Pff! pff! Hu, hu, hu! I am stifled!—Will you be kind enough, Sir, to let this lady sit on the other side of you? *Ja wohl, mein Herr: aber*—"Willingly, Sir: but—"

'This *but* was very significant. Every man had his pipe; and it was in vain to change places. We had lived two years among these eternal smokers.' p. 5.

In the end of the same chapter we have a very fair specimen of the self-complacency with which Mr. Holcroft pursues his lucubrations, of the ease of his style, and the fineness of his feelings.

'These marsh lands are uncommonly prolific; and their inhabitants are a very good kind of people. So be it. I bless my stars, I am but a passenger.

'I had supposed Harburg to be a village: and the imagination had some relief, as I approached, to discover it was a fortified town.

'It had just been taken possession of by the Prussians; and this was another subject for meditation. It affected me. It brought to remembrance the contests of power, the sufferings of the unoffending, and the whole train of melancholy reflexions by which the mind, dispirited, fatigued, and worn, had been sunk to apathy or despair. What do these men do here? said I. Why do they not stay at home; and build bridges, repair roads, drain bogs, and fructify the barren sands of Brandenburg? Would not this be to gain territory? Cannot ambition occupy itself more profitably and more nobly than in rapine? Ambition a noble quality? Oh, no! It is blind, selfish, stupid, and almost as ignorant as it is hateful.' p. 6, 7.

Of the country, Mr. Holcroft assures us that 'nothing could be seen except *cold* and green nakedness;'—the inns, too, were very bad and the *stuhl-wagen* jolted abominably. At Bremen he meets with a German petit-maître, who is not ill described; and at Delmanhorst the sight of some Prussian soldiers reminds him that the great Frederic was 'great for dealing in human slaughter.' At Groningen, where some of the natives were rude enough to laugh at the outlandish appearance of his party, Mr. Holcroft takes occasion to make the following profound and interesting observations.

'These are trifles; and in fact we laughed in turn. I suppose it was virtue in us, that we concealed our laughter from the objects of it; though I leave it to better casuists to decide how far this kind of laughter, or, if they are in the humour to dispute, any kind of laughter, is a mark of sound sense. I own, I wish I could laugh oftener; yet I am very wrong, if I wish for folly; and I do not very well know how pure wisdom should excite laughter. Bless us! we have many doubts to solve: and, as I fear, much rubbish to remove.

'Are we in the land of metaphysics; or of moral philosophy; or where? We ought to be at Groningen; sober Groningen: where the people appear to have a deal of common sense. Be it remarked, however, that here, in sober Groningen, we met with the first tree of liberty.

'What warring sensations did the sight of it inspire! What is a revolution? And what has this revolution effected? The mass of evil, and the mass of good, put in opposite scales: which shall preponderate? I solemnly declare, in the face of mankind, my heart aches, op-

pressed with a sense of past miseries, though I ardently hope, nay am seriously convinced,' &c. p. 42.

Mr. Holcroft, however, does not always trifle or rave so absurdly. His description of a Dutchman, though not original, is correct and amusing.

'The Dutchman, living in continual danger of inundation, and of losing, not only the fruits of his industry, but his life, becomes habitually provident. His foresight is admirable, his perseverance not to be conquered, and his labours, unless seen, not to be believed.

'They astonish the more, when the phlegm of his temper and the slowness of his habits are considered. View the minuteness of his economy, the solicitude of his precaution, and the inflexibility of his methodical prudence! Who would not pronounce him incapable of great enterprize? He builds himself a dwelling: it is a hut in size; it is a palace in neatness. It is necessarily situated among damps, upon a flat, and perhaps behind the bank of a sluggish canal: yet he writes upon it, *My Goenege*, "My Delight;"—*Landlust*, "Country Pleasures;"—*Landsigt*, "Country Prospect;"—or some inscription that might characterize the vale of Tempé, or the garden of Eden. He cuts his trees into fantastical forms, hangs his awning round with small bells, and decorates his Sunday jacket with dozens of little buttons. Too provident to waste his sweets, he cunningly puts a bit of sugar-candy in his mouth, and drinks his tea as it melts: one morsel serves, let him drink as long as he pleases. Around him is every token of care, caution, and cleanliness; but none, in his domestic habits, of magnificence, or grandeur of design.

'Having well considered him in these his private propensities, the eye turns with amazement on his public works. The country, which nature appears to have doomed to stagnant waters and everlasting agues, his daring and laborious arm has undertaken to drain, has overspread with verdure, and has covered with habitations. The very element, which seemed to bid him utter defiance, he has subdued and rendered his most useful slave,' &c. Vol. I. p. 37, 38.

To this may be added, the following account of the general appearance of the lower orders at a Dutch fair—

'The chief thing which affects the eye of a foreigner, as something unusual, is the general costume; the dresses, physiognomies, and peculiar appearance of the lower classes, decked in their holiday finery. Broad pewter and silver buckles; large and small buttons, both in excess, and both of ancient usage; some with short vests, and others with coats down to their heels, each of them sitting close, and showing the waist; projecting hips, the men wearing eight or ten pair of breeches, the women at least as many petticoats; stockings of various colours, not excepting purple, red, and yellow; peasant girls in short jackets, with their gold ornaments and rich brussels lace; tobacco pipes, various in their form and size; and countenances with a frequent tinge of the

livid. These are a few of the many marks which catch the stranger's eye, and characterise the people.' Vol. I. p. 91, 92.

It is not long, however, before Mr. Holcroft returns to his favourite style of consequential trifling; and, among other things, is obliging enough to communicate the process of thought by which he was enabled to discover how there were no water-mills in a country where there was no running water. This is done with great solemnity, as follows:

'An observation had forced itself upon me, soon after I entered the United Provinces. The country abounds in water, and the Dutch neglect no opportunity of profiting by the gifts of nature; yet I do not recollect to have seen a single water-mill. The reason was before us. There were innumerable canals, but no streams: it was almost a level surface.' Vol. I. p. 77.

As an instance of great humour and originality, we then find the pleasure of meeting with an intelligent man, who speaks your language abroad, compared to 'the green mould of Cheshire cheese;' and afterwards, upon mentioning the fatigue which his wife suffered from the rough shaking of the diligence, an imaginary personage is brought in to say—

'But how could you be so cruel to your wife as not to travel in your own carriage, so built as that she might repose at her ease?

'Ay, dear Madam, how indeed! And how could you, and others who may question me, be so cruel as not to provide her with such a carriage? Though I perfectly know the disgrace annexed to it, I will whisper a secret to you, trusting to your generosity not to make it public. The man, to whom Fortunatus left his purse, was not a poet. Do not imagine, dear Madam, that I complain. Oh no!' &c. Vol. I. p. 117.

A little farther on, we are told—

'*Cars* drawn by dogs *is* a common *practice* here. It is highly condemned by some writers in Paris, where likewise the practice is not unknown; and I do not think the powers of the animal are well calculated for this labour. Is it not very wrong to pervert the animal powers?' Vol. I. p. 127.

If Mr. Holcroft had not written his novels with a little more spirit and meaning, we can scarcely imagine that they would have been in such request even at the circulating libraries. In entering France, he endeavours to compare the impressions which the general appearance of the country makes upon him, with those which he received when he first visited it in 1783. The following remarks are rather interesting.

'In passing through France formerly, the variegated colours of the land in cultivation always caught the eye of an Englishman, as a singularity. In perspective, they looked like long stripes of riband; in different shades of yellow, brown and green. The reason of this was

that different peasants had each his long slip of land to cultivate, and that each grew the species of plant or grain which suited his purpose, or pleased him best. We remarked these appearances still, but I think much less frequently.

'The wretched mud huts, of which I had formerly seen such numbers, many of them still remain: I believe, but dare not affirm, they are diminished.

'Two things to the advantage of the present moment I can speak of, without any doubt or fear of misleading: the peasants are now better clothed, in general, than they were; and their looks I will not say are more merry, but rather more sedate, yet more truly cheerful. There still are many beggars among them; but the numbers now are not so great. If the large and spreading picture of poverty I may say of wretchedness, be not exceedingly lessened, I am exceedingly deceived. The last day of our journey was Sunday; and we saw too many of the people, both old and young, cleanly in their dress, and with satisfaction in their faces, for these signs of ease and better days to be mistaken. The rags, the poverty, the harrassed looks, the livid tints, the pictures of misery, I had formerly seen, cannot be forgotten.' Vol. I. p. 134, 135.

All traces of sober inquiry, or rational speculation, however, are dispelled as soon as he comes within sight of Paris; and he breaks forth into this edifying soliloquy:

'Permit me to pause. Recollection is a duty. Why am I here? The question confounds. I have parental ties that call on me, and family affections to indulge: but the grand purpose of my journey is to examine and endeavour to understand a nation, by which, during twelve years, the world has been held in astonishment. And who am I, that I should undertake this labour? It is no trick, no oratorical flourish: no; by the honesty of my soul, I shrink and tremble at my own temerity! Paris, the city which sat in judgment on ages past, while the present, involved in the decree, waited in dread to hear! Paris, whose mandates to-day were the emanations of divinity; to-morrow, the rules and ordinances of the damned! Paris, whose intrigues nothing less than omniscience could comprehend, nothing less than omnipotence could disentangle! Paris, whose frivolities Folly herself despises, while Wisdom stands enraptured at her science! Pretend to give the world a picture of Paris?——Let me recover!' Vol. I. p. 139, 140.

The *entrée* itself, which was made at midnight, is described in a very pompous manner, but not without some force of colouring.

'The streets reverberated; the reflecting lamps cast the broad shades of the massy stone buildings: they were so lofty that they concealed the skies; and we seemed to be winding through intricate and endless caverns. These are not fanciful pictures, but real impressions, such as the place is calculated to give. *La rue Bouloi* is in the centre of Paris; and to that we were driven.' Vol. I. p. 143.

Among other *bizarre* reflections that suggest themselves at the view of those barriers by which the proscribed were formerly shut in for destruction, Mr. Holcroft, to prove his orthodoxy, observes, 'Would they had been the walls of Jericho, and that the horns of rams had been sounded before them!' There is then a long account of his negociation about lodgings; and in the 160th page he finally takes a position, and begins his grand work of observation.

Of the remainder of this work, we find it extremely difficult to give any distinct account. It is made up of such a multitude of unconnected trifles, and exhibits such a collection of superficial and minute observations, that it is utterly impossible to give any intelligible abstract, and extremely difficult to find any grounds for selection. Coffee-houses, quack-doctors, sign-posts, hand-bills, illuminations, festivals, public places, courtezans, education, adultery, actors, artists, &c. &c. are all treated of by Mr. Holcroft in the most copious, disorderly, and desultory manner imaginable. The description of what he sees, bears but an inconsiderable proportion to the exposition of what he thinks; and the necessity of making a large book, has distended the account of what he reads, to a bulk still greater than either. In going over this miscellaneous assortment, we shall no longer pretend to follow the arrangement of the author, or to present our readers with any thing like a complete account of the innumerable objects he has introduced to their notice. As a specimen of the kind of entertainment that may be expected from this great work, however, we shall endeavour to give a view of those parts of it that appeared to us most extraordinary and amusing.

As we cannot persuade ourselves, with Mr. Holcroft, that the most instructive traits of national character are to be found among the hawkers, the jugglers and ballad-singers of a great city, we rather choose to extract the following general observations on the present costume of the nation.

'The revolutionary spirit has not been limited to political and civil institutions; it has pervaded every department of life. Monks and abbés with muffs, silk coats, arm hats, and all the assimilating costume, have disappeared. The well-dressed men are either military, or habited so like the English as to seem almost the same people. They are chiefly to be distinguished from us by difference of deportment, difference of physiognomy, and by an overgrown bush of hair on each cheek.

'But the well-dressed men are very few: the revolution has far from entirely corrected the propensity of the lower orders to slovenliness. Long pantaloons, once put on and never changed till they are entirely worn out, linen not fit to be seen, and therefore concealed, a great coat dangling to the calf of the leg, buttoned up and worn also while it will

last, a rusty round hat, uncombed hair, fierce whiskers, a dirty chin, and a handkerchief tied not under but over it, and not of muslin or silk, but of coarse-coloured linen rarely washed; such is the figure not perhaps of the majority, but certainly of great numbers of the men to be met of an evening, even in coffee-houses; such are hundreds of the figures that crowd together at all hours of the day, and walk the Palais Royal, fill the billiard rooms, and exhibit themselves in all public places where the entrance is free. At some even of the dancing gardens on the *Boulevards*, they find it necessary to write over the door—'Admittance to persons decently dressed.'

'The French character is enterprising, forward, impelled by curiosity, not easily repulsed, and with little of that shyness which in the English is sometimes pride, and sometimes a foolish feeling of shame, but often likewise a decent sense of propriety. It appears as if a Frenchman imagines he has only to show himself to be admired. If he publicly write, speak, or act, he assumes importance. If his portrait be painted, his head must be thrown back, his breast forward, and his air must either be smiling, dignified, or disdainful: in his own language it must *impose*.' p. 169, 170.

The reader may also take the following picture of the Boulevards.

'Stalls of dirty books; tressels with toys; sellers of cakes and canes; fan-menders, bead-stringers, beggars, quacks, tumblers, and show-booths; fellows displaying tricks of legerdemain; venders of miraculous dyes and powders, who dip bits of white ribbon in a liquor that turns them pink; orators parrotting over twopenny systems of geology, and the order of the universe; teachers of secrets that will enable the buyer to cut glass under water, etch landscapes upon egg-shells, engrave portraits by pricking paper with pins and dusting it with lamp-black: these intermingled with the display of milliners, linen-drapers, print-sellers, and a variety of trades, continued through an avenue two miles in length, spacious, enlivened as I have said with carriages, and adorned by lofty trees, gardens, and hôtels, with the gates, or rather the triumphal arches of St. Denis and St. Martin, the structure that was the Opera House; these, I say, and thousands of other objects, which no memory can retain, if the reader can arrange and put them together, will form a something that he may imagine to be the *Boulevards* of Paris.'

After four or five chapters of similar, but more detailed description, Mr. Holcroft comes to give an account of the *national festivals* which he had occasion to witness during his stay in Paris. Upon this subject, our readers will perhaps be surprised to hear that he has bestowed upwards of 120 pages, although the *spectacle* and preparations were very nearly the same in every one of them. Concerts, illuminations, temples of painted boards, firing of artillery, dancing and displays of agility, formed the grand ingredients of all those exhibitions; but though Mr. Holcroft goes over all this detail with as much fatiguing exactness as could be found

in a herald's account of a coronation, it would still have been impossible for him to have filled one third part of the space we have mentioned, had it not been for two notable devices. The one is, by taking a retrospective view of all the festivals, processions, and public rejoicings which history represents as having taken place since the foundation of the royalty within the precincts of Paris. By the assistance of St. Foix and Dulaure, he accordingly goes back to the time of Charles VI. and Louis XI., and entertains his readers with a long and particular account of the mysteries and pantomimes, and the saints and heathen deities that were conjured up for the delight of the Sovereigns and people of those days. He then comes to the tournaments and emblematic pageantries of a succeeding age; and passing leisurely through the classical affectations of Louis XIV., terminates his historical review with a minute description of the great festival of the Federation, which was celebrated in the Champ de Mars on the 14th July 1790. Having thus arrived at the modern period of the history of French festivals, when books can no longer be found to transcribe, Mr. Holcroft has recourse to his *second* contrivance for prolonging his own descriptions, and the gratification of his readers. This consists in transcribing at full length the various addresses, decrees or enactments by which the solemnity was appointed, and also fairly copying over the program or advertisement in which the particulars of it are always announced to the public. With this advertisement in his hand, Mr. Holcroft then proceeds to survey the actual appearance of the exhibition; and is mischievously particular in pointing out where the execution was defective, and in what particulars the preparations were incomplete. Few things, we acknowledge, have been more fatiguing to us than this process of verification; nor are we to this hour altogether satisfied that the national character is completely elucidated by stating that the Temple of Concord, which ought to have been open in the morning, was not ready till the afternoon, or that the national column was erected of rafters covered over with painted paper. In a humour if possible still more childishly sentimental, Mr. Holcroft then exclaims against the abominable brutality of making discharges of artillery a part of any joyful solemnity, and laments that 'the peaceable world should be thus wantonly reminded of carnage, destruction and horror, by the command of its governors.' A little after, we have a coarser sentence about 'the ox and frog monument of that chief of the Bobadils, Louis XIV.'

After Mr. Holcroft is happily delivered of his dissertation on festivals, he presents us with a number of loose remarks upon national prejudices, which are less novel than just, and more remarkable for their liberality than their acuteness. He then strings

together a number of common-place anecdotes, and stories of gascons, waiting-women and professors. We do not think any of them worth repeating. After some bewildering discourses on the nature and causes of a Frenchman's partiality to Paris, we are surprised to find ourselves engaged all at once in an abstract dissertation on the ambiguity of language. This issues at last in some common-place lamentations over the unsettled notions of *honour* that prevail in the world; and so totally does Mr. Holcroft forget that he is writing travels in France, or at least a description of Paris, that he favours his English readers with a *diatribe* on the horrors of boxing, and coolly copies out for them the account given in the Morning Chronicle of the famous match between Belcher and Firby in April 1803. From this he makes an easy transition to the subject of duelling, the antiquities of which he details with great precision, and digresses into the kindred topic of ordeals by fire and water; upon all which he is as learned and satisfactory as if his subject had compelled him to treat of them upon a very short warning.

These disquisitions carry us a little way into the second volume, when we meet somewhat abruptly with this pathetic exclamation—

'Honesty and precision of language, oh! when shall your benign influence purify the heart, make it blush at its cowardly GLOSSARIES, bid it shrink from dissimulation, and, while it detects the practice, accustom it to abhor the consequences of hypocrisy!' Vol. II. p. 26.

This pious ejaculation turns out to be the prelude to a long historical account of the gallantry and habitual adultery of the French, in which is engrossed an abridged history of all the royal mistresses from the days of Philip the Long and Charles VII. down to those of Louis XV. This edifying legend occupies nearly forty pages; and twenty more are filled with extracts and translations from interludes, epigrams, and satires, illustrating the unaltered corruption of modern manners. Upon this important subject, we cannot help regretting, that Mr. Holcroft has not been able to come to a clearer conclusion. This is the oracular sentence with which he dismisses it—

'Though I dare not affirm, I hope and *believe* the number of wives faithful to their husbands is the greatest: yet what I have so frequently observed makes it with me *exceedingly doubtful*.' Vol. II. p. 61.

He adds in another place—

'I can testify that French women, as well young as old, will, without scruple, and it may by miracle be without meaning, bestow their kisses unasked, and describe charming gardens and retired groves, in which they will invite you to walk, proposing themselves to be your guide.' Vol. II. p. 84.

Upon the subject of decency and cleanliness, Mr. Holcroft philosophizes and exemplifies, in a manner that is in the highest degree nauseous and disgusting, though we really believe that he does not intend to give any offence. This inquiry ends in a discourse upon dress; for the full elucidation of which, all the fashions from the time of Francis I. are made to pass in review; and upon the alternations of fashion between London and Paris, he is pleased to observe, that 'it cannot be denied that these things are indications of that highest of all high considerations, the state of mind and of morals.' A little after, he says, with still more solemnity, but at the same time with all the laudable caution that was natural in venturing upon so alarming a remark,

'There is an aptitude in the mind to systematize on its own conjectures: Of this, I wish the reader to be aware, when I say I am mistaken if female decency, nay, if chastity and morals, be not injured by the *disuse of hats* which has so long prevailed in France.' Vol. II. p. 117.

We pass over the author's treatises on courtezans and on nurses, in the latter of which he maintains that many an old woman has more power than Buonaparte. On the new plan of education, by central and departmental schools, he only observes that the First Consul has engrossed to himself the whole patronage and regulation of these institutions; and that, in the polytechnic school at Paris, in particular, it is an understood thing, that if the father or relation of any student express disapprobation of the government, the boy is immediately expelled. During the war with Toussaint, all the youths of colour were dismissed with ignominy.

Mr. Holcroft admits that the French have some pretensions to politeness, though their merit in this way, he says, lies chiefly in that *forbearance* by which quarrels and outrages are generally avoided. Many of the observances to which they ascribe so much importance, he justly considers as mere local and arbitrary usages; and, in some points, he endeavours to show that their manners are absolutely rude. In proof of this, he alludes to the *quizzing* which his spectacles and spencer drew upon him from the populace, and to the ingratitude of diverse individuals to whom he lent books at the opera, and showed other civilities. The charge, however, we will confess, becomes more serious, when he adds, that he repeatedly saw women of the town *kicked* in the *Palais Royal* by the waiters; and that in one of the theatres, an old gentleman actually struck a lady with his fist, in consequence of some dispute about a place. The pit, he adds, is always extremely turbulent at Paris, and absolutely rages as often as a lady lays her cloak or handkerchief over a box, or turns her back upon the audience.

Mr. Holcroft next calls in question that gayety of heart on which the French are so apt to value themselves. His first reasons for doubting its reality, did not indeed appear to us to be very substantial—the height of their houses, for instance, and the darkness of their court-yards and *portes cocheres*, or the heavy form and dusky colour of their furniture. The frequency of suicide, however, is an argument rather more convincing. In the *Morgue*, a place in Paris where dead bodies are deposited till they be reclaimed, upwards of 130 are supposed to be annually exposed; but as the fashionable mode of death is by drowning, the victims must be much more numerous. Mr. Holcroft was informed from a very respectable quarter, that there had been 193 suicides in the metropolis within the last ten months, and about as many in the departments. Beggars are more numerous in Paris than in London, but, in general, not so importunate. Credulity and superstition still retain a good deal of influence over the lower orders, though Mr. Holcroft thinks that the hierarchy will never be able to renew either its tyranny or its impostures.

The association of ideas by which Mr. Holcroft is guided in the distribution of his subjects, is rather more capricious than most authors would choose to follow in a serious composition. In speaking of credulity, he happens to glance incidentally at the general behaviour of the Parisians in places of worship; and this leads him to give some account of the festival observed on the birth-day of Buonaparte, *because* the greater part of it was solemnized in churches: and then the mention of this festival naturally leads him to say something of the character of the First Consul himself. This, however, is a subject which cannot fail to attract curiosity in whatever way it may be introduced; and Mr. Holcroft has contributed his quota of anecdotes and reflections with great good will and liberality. The great interest of these speculations, however, is now over: among those who live beyond the sphere of his power, there is no longer any dispute about the character of this fortunate usurper. Mr. Holcroft, with all his admiration for energies and sublime capabilities, is obliged to admit the selfish littleness and violence of his temper, and to allow that he is merely acting over the vulgar part of an ambitious tyrant, with all its common accompaniments of rant and atrocity. There is something of a poetical rapture in the style which he assumes upon this occasion; but it is the best written part, we think, of his performance.

'Of republicans he was the first, the most magnanimous, and the least to be suspected: the love of freedom, the emancipation of slaves, and the utter expulsion of bigotry, were the pictures he delighted to exhibit to the admiring world. Cæsar, nay, Alexander himself, who

professed to conquer only to civilize, appeared to be outdone by a stripling; a scholar from the military school; concerning whom his playmates began now to ransack memory, that they might discover in what he had differed from themselves.' Vol. II. p. 272.

The world, in general, only changed their opinion by degrees; but Mr. Holcroft detected the hypocrite in one decisive act.

'The unhappy period at length approached, that was to show him a character of vice and virtue so dangerously combined, as to alarm penetration, and warn the world to beware. He landed in Egypt; and, by a stroke of his pen, he and his whole army became Mussulmen.

'Every doubt was then removed: he was a man to whom, could he but gain the end in view, all means were good.' Vol. II. p. 273.

The same propensity to account for every thing by the supposition of some single and palpable cause, induces Mr. Holcroft to assure us, that the tyranny of Buonaparte arises almost exclusively from his having been accustomed to command armies before he ascended the seat of civil dominion. The following observations, however, are entitled to attention.

'Accustomed to gain the grandest advantages by secrecy of plan, celerity of action, and those stratagems that best can mask and mislead, the same habits remain, and the same means are adopted, when the conqueror seizes on the rule of states, as when he sends forth his cohorts to the plunder of cities, and the capture of provinces. He alone must project; he alone must command; reward and punishment must be at his sole disposal: no community, no single creature must act but as he wills. That to make his will known is impossible; that it varies in himself from day to day; that men cannot resign their intellect, cannot resist the impulses of habits and the decision of the judgment; and that the task of regulating the actions of millions by the will of an individual is the most extravagant and absurd of attempts—are truths of which he has no knowledge, or has lost all recollection.' Vol. II. p. 277.

The barefaced violence by which all the journals were silenced, but those which became the organs of the government, has been long known over all Europe. Mr. Holcroft adds a number of well authenticated facts of the same nature, and mentions the names of several unfortunate authors who were sentenced to banishment or imprisonment for having written what did not meet with the approbation of the First Consul. Even his philosophical associates are now excluded from his presence; and, on some occasions, the contempt with which he treats the adulation which his tyranny has extorted, reminds us of the capricious insults of Tiberius to his degraded senate.

'In the true spirit of French declamation, some one affirmed, speaking to Buonaparte, that England was far behind France in truly understanding the principles of liberty: To which he replied, "It would

be well for the latter, if it did but enjoy one tenth part of English freedom."

'He will seldom condescend to argue; and, when he does, he considers it insolence, in any one, who dares to be of a different opinion.' Vol. II. p. 288, 289.

In every society, Mr. Holcroft assures us, Moreau is praised; and advantageously contrasted with Buonaparte. 'Their busts,' he adds, 'are exposed to sale on every stall; and before I left Paris, that of Moreau was said to sell much the best.'

'According to good information, the ungovernable anger of Buonaparte is become so excessive, that, when a messenger brings unpleasant news of any kind, but especially if it relate to foreign affairs, the persons in waiting are each afraid of being the reporter. His fits of passion are so violent, that it is said he is now frequently provoked to strike; and that it is very common for his footmen to receive blows.' Vol. II. p. 391.

Mr. Holcroft says, that he has every reason to believe that the angry and intemperate attacks upon the English nation, which appeared in the *Moniteurs* during the peace, were written by the First Consul himself.

'From an engineer who was with him in Egypt, I learned that it was his custom, when he had summoned a council of war, to listen to the opinions of others, to give no opinion himself, to act in a manner that could be least expected, and to do this with such determination and celerity, that, said the narrator, it was like a torrent. So great was his ascendancy, that, when he was present, the generals acting under him appeared like so many schoolboys.' Vol. II. p. 303.

In executing these plans, it is notorious that he is utterly indifferent to the waste of life that may be occasioned: he has no sympathy with the sufferings of his followers.

'During the extreme summer heats in Italy, it happened that the enemy was certain on such a day that his army was at such a distance. It was well known that forced marches were with him common occurrences: but the season would not admit of them, without an absolute and certain loss of men; which must be excessive in proportion as their speed should be great.

'Buonaparte was not to be retarded by such motives. On this very occasion, he issued his orders as he lay in the warm bath, of which he makes frequent use, and the men were driven forward, the foot by the horse, with such violence that thousands perished on the march. Some remonstrances were attempted by the officers, but they were repulsed with contempt and threats. The horse and advanced troops secured various passes, the supposed impossibility was overcome, the enemy attacked, and the end of the conqueror obtained. A whole district fell the common prey; and the living, in the triumph of victory and the revel of plunder, thought no more of the dead.

'The contributions he laid were without mercy: and his treatment

of the magistrates of the conquered, when they ventured to make any strong appeal against cruelty or injustice, were such as man would scarcely bestow on a dog.' Vol. II. p. 307, 308.

We shall conclude these extracts with the following physiognomical sketch.

'Sallow complexion, length of face, a pointed nose, a projecting chin, and prominent cheek bones, have distinguished the countenances of fanatics and persecutors. Fanatics and persecutors were often men of powerful minds, but violent passions; and between such men and Buonaparte, allowing for times and circumstances, in physiognomy, in talents, and in manner of acting, there is great resemblance.' Vol. II. p. 320.

We cannot go through the remainder of this work. It consists principally of a *catalogue raisonnée* of all the public performers of any eminence, and of the men of letters and authors whose names are in circulation in Paris. It also comprehends a rapturous account of the national museum, of which the following sentence may serve as a specimen.

'The harmonious *Guido*; *Barbieri*, *Corregio*, *Titian*, *Da Vinci*, and *Raphael!* Giants, that extirminate their imitators: each a Saturn, devouring his children.

'Why do I indulge in a style that resembles rhapsody? It is, that I am vainly struggling to perform a task to which I am unequal. It is, that multitude and volume palsy all effort to individualize, and give me the right to say, go, and behold, that thy eyes may bear testimony to the truth.' Vol. II. p. 439.

After a short *resumé* of his observations on coffee-houses, gaming-houses, and prisons, Mr. Holcroft leaves Paris, and returns to England by the way of Calais, without meeting with any adventure.

Upon the whole, we think that this book is a great deal too long, and that it has attained this magnitude by the most intrepid and extensive application of the approved recipes for book-making that has yet come under our consideration. If every thing were deducted that has no relation to the present state of the countries which the author proposes to describe, and every thing which is transcribed from books that might as well have been consulted at home, the publication, we are persuaded, would be reduced to one third of its present bulk. The lofty pretensions, too, with which the author sets out, and the solemnity with which he continually speaks of his labours, form a ridiculous contrast with the insignificance of the matters upon which he has rested his attention. Instead of dwelling only upon those things which possessed in themselves some degree of interest or attraction, he has attempted to transport his readers into Paris, by setting before their eyes every thing which his own could dis-

cover in that situation; and has thought there was no way so sure of omitting nothing characteristic or important, as by setting down every thing that occurred, and thinking nothing too trifling to be omitted. In this way, he has undoubtedly brought forward some groups in a lively and animated manner; but he has taken all dignity, unity and distinctness from his performance, considered as a whole; and has crowded and confused its inferior compartments in such a manner as scarcely to leave any other impression on the eye of the observer, but that of disorder and fatigue.

Of the style and language of this book, a tolerable judgement may be formed from the extracts we have already given. Its ruling vice is affectation, which is frequently combined with a greater degree of grammatical inaccuracy than is usual, even in works of this description. In the preface the author informs us, that 'his principle subject is the city of Paris, its inhabitants, and the marks by which *they* are distinguished from other *cities* and other nations.' A few pages afterwards, he chooses to say, 'In their common discourse much, and in their daily actions more, the opinions of a people are broadly written.' He talks also of 'murders and atrocities, *such as the very image of makes* the soul revolt;' and of 'four children, *none of whom not* having a parent's care,' &c. He informs us, moreover, that '*cars* drawn by dogs *is* a practice,' &c.; and that a man with a dirty silk coat was 'surveyed *with continued repetition* by his companions.'

This book is very handsomely printed, and the plates have the dimensions at least of magnificence: the greater part of them, however are very indifferently executed; and the two general views of Paris are in every respect abominable. The vignettes are by far the best, and many of them are both designed and finished with great taste and elegance.

ART. VII. *Memoires du Compte Joseph de Puissaye, Lieutenant General, &c. &c. qui pourront servir à l'Histoire du Parti Royaliste François, durant la derniere Revolution.* 2 vol. London, E. Harding & Dulaw. 1803.

M. PUISSAYE has devoted his retirement in Canada to the vindication of his character from charges which have obtained a very extensive circulation. He informs the public, that he has composed these volumes under the pressure of an almost uninterrupted state of bad health, and that, from that cause,

he is obliged to offer them to the world in an unfinished state; and it is so uncertain whether he shall live to complete the task he has begun, that he has made arrangements for the publication of the papers to which he meant to refer, in case of his decease.

In the first of these volumes, he delivers his sentiments on the causes which produced the French Revolution, and the events which followed, down to the dissolution of the first National Assembly. The second volume contains an account of the measures adopted by M. Puissaye to form a Royalist army in Normandy and Brittany, down to September 1794, when he came to England to concert measures with the British Government. In this volume M. Puissaye's personal adventures and conduct occupy the greater part of the narrative; and many historical anecdotes are related, which have hitherto been little known to the public.

M. Puissaye's reflections on the causes which produced the French revolution, are delivered with singular temper and moderation. He imputes the whole to the divisions and disunion which prevailed in every order of the State. Our readers are probably well acquainted with many of the abuses which led to the downfal of the aristocracy of France; but much more than usual is ascribed by our author to the divisions which prevailed between the noblesse of the Court and of the provinces. The courtiers were possessed of all situations of power or emolument, while the provincial nobility were precluded, by the prejudices of their order, from filling many of the most important situations in life. The study of the sciences, the exercise of the liberal arts, and the administration of justice, were almost entirely engrossed by men whom the higher nobility considered as an inferior class. Although they occupied nominal situations, and possessed a fictitious preeminence, they had lost every thing which could give them a real preponderance in the event of a struggle. Their degradation was completed by the venality of the Court. Every office, every species of distinction, was bought and sold. Titles were so rapidly multiplied, that every fresh creation made those who had formerly been ennobled impatient for some new promotion. At the same time that the state of the nobility was such as indicated the weakness of the government, the people possessed few privileges which could give them any attachment to the constitution of their country. Some of the provinces indeed had the right of holding meetings of the states according to the capitulations by which they had been united to the Crown of France; and though this *privilege* had been reduced to the right of making remonstrances, which were generally repressed by menaces, or

answered by *lettres de cachet*, yet M. Puissaye assures us, that even this shadow of liberty was not without effect; and that to it must be attributed the superior degree of energy which these provinces displayed in the combat which they afterwards maintained for their laws and their religion.

'Their conduct,' he observes (p. 49.) 'ought to recal to the recollection of those who govern, a truth too often forgotten, that the maintenance of the rights of subjects affords the most solid support to the authority of the sovereign.'

In the other provinces of France, the Parliaments were the only barrier between the unlimited authority of the Prince, and the abject condition of the people. Our author is loud in his praises of the character and conduct of the members of these assemblies; and his sentiments on this subject form a strong contrast to those of M. Mounier. Both the nature of these institutions, and the general conduct and character of the members meet with his decided approbation; and although he appears to admit that the legislative powers which they assumed, were usurped, he at the same time asserts that they were uniformly executed for the advantage of the nation.

To remove any suspicion which might attach to the very decided approbation which M. Puissaye bestows upon the Parliaments of France, he assures us that he has no motive of professional or family attachment which could bias his judgment.

'I have heard the Parliaments' (says M. Puissaye, p. 51.) 'calumniated by men attached to the Court: That was to be expected; for the Court feared them, and had determined on their destruction. I have since heard them calumniated by the opposite party: That was also to be looked for; that party found it necessary to destroy them. I have seen them act throughout with dignity and courage, suffering at one period for their opposition to the enterprizes of arbitrary power, on another occasion victims of their zeal for the support of lawful authority.'

M. Puissaye observes, that many persons have expressed their surprise, that the ablest ministers France ever produced in the war and marine departments had been *hommes de robe*. Our author remarks that this fact may be easily accounted for.

'A well informed man, possessed of habits of application, can in a short time make himself fit for any situation; while a man who is ignorant, and who believes that he is possessed of an extensive right to office, from birth, from favour, or from fortune, is incapable of any employment.'

He asserts accordingly, that these men would probably have acquired the same reputation in the command of armies. The

statesmen and generals of the Greek and Roman republics were at the same time their magistrates.

If the members of the French Parliaments were deserving of the eulogium bestowed upon them by our author, they certainly form a striking instance of the powerful influence of moral situation. They must have felt that the place which they were to hold in the public estimation depended upon their own conduct; and, amidst the contempt into which the other institutions of the state had fallen, they could only preserve the powers which they had in some measure usurped, by showing that they possessed those qualities which inspire confidence and command admiration.

Divisions, equally fatal to the repose of the state, subsisted between the dignified clergy who resided at court, and the *curés* who lived among the people and possessed great influence over them. It thus appears, from a view of all the institutions upon which the permanence and stability of a government must depend, that the monarchy of France was reduced to such a state of disunion, that it was unable to resist any violent impulse. M. Puissaye enumerates other causes which increased the disorders of the state, and weakened the authority of the Sovereign. The profligacy of the government during the minority of Lewis XV., gave rise to a spirit of irreligion and immorality throughout the country, which the feebleness of his measures tended to confirm. The corruption of manners was completed by the influence of the press, which diffused visionary and immoral publications of every description. It was seldom that any attempt was made to repress them; and such was the weakness of the rulers, that the authors of these publications even courted persecution. Men, who would have stood in awe of a well-ordered government, and who would have trembled at a severe one, embraced those opportunities of obtaining credit for courage and fortitude which they did not possess.

We have endeavoured to give our readers some idea of the view which M. Puissaye takes of the causes of the French Revolution. For a more detailed statement of them, we must refer to the book itself. The general principle which he maintains is, that the germs of political disorder and confusion existed in every order and department of society, and that the causes which produced the calamities of France were such as have been observed and will be observed in the dissolution of every empire.

'Men of all countries and of all ages,' says our author, 'who shall one day read the history of the misfortunes of France, will only have to change the names, and those subordinate circumstances which are va-

ried by time, place and accident, and they will read the history of their fathers, of their descendants, or perhaps of their own era.'

The result of M. Puissaye's reasoning is, that a foundation had long before been laid for the French revolution; and if the same opening had presented itself, a political change of the same magnitude might have taken place in the time of Lewis XV. These observations bring forcibly to our recollection a striking passage in one of Lord Chesterfield's letters. After taking notice of the changes which had taken place in the opinions of the French nation, upon matters of religion and government, his Lordship concludes: 'In short, all the symptoms which I have ever met with in history, previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exist and daily increase in France*.' This opinion was delivered at a time when many persons, deceived by the exterior splendour of the French monarchy, considered it as fixed on the surest foundations, and when disappointed politicians lamented the instability of a mixed government.

The preliminary part of the work before us presents so large a field for observation, that we feel ourselves obliged to omit many discussions which the perusal of it has suggested. There is one fact which we have already taken notice of, which appears well worthy of observation; that a striking difference was perceived between the conduct of those provinces which possessed some shadow of a free government, and that of those which enjoyed no protection against the inroads of arbitrary power,—that these provinces afterwards showed a superior degree of energy and resolution in arming themselves against the tyrannical measures of the revolutionary government. This fact is peculiarly important, from the striking illustration it affords of the energy with which men possessed of rights and of privileges may be expected to act, when they are forced into a contest with tyranny and oppression.

Another fact of the same description occurs in the course of the narrative. The emissaries of the convention endeavoured to stir up the people of Normandy, by proposing an agrarian law; a doctrine which has so many charms for the lower ranks of every society. The landholders in this province were, however, so much more numerous than in other parts of France, that the orators found themselves obliged to relinquish that topic, and were in danger of being destroyed even by the populace whom they had endeavoured to seduce.

We shall now lay before our readers, some of M. Puissaye's reflections upon the particular events which preceded the Revo-

* December 25, 1753.

lution, during the reign of Lewis XVI. Our author pronounces a most eloquent eulogium upon that unfortunate Monarch; and ascribes his misfortunes to the meanness and perfidy of his courtiers. We are told, that when they deceived him, they availed themselves of his love of justice, his regard for worth, and his diffidence in his own talents. The Queen is described as possessing every thing which could render her an object of love and admiration. But she was surrounded by courtiers, whose composition was perfidy, whose profession was deceit. They had recourse to every art, and assumed every disguise; and seemed by turns humane, compassionate, disinterested, enthusiastic in behalf of virtue, and indignant at vice. In the midst of such a scene of deception, it was almost impossible for persons of virtue to approach. All lucrative situations were secured by the flatterers; but from the divisions which took place amongst them, the ministry was always in too precarious a situation to be an object of their ambition. They preferred the advantage of disposing of it, to the risk of possessing it.

The events which more immediately led to the Revolution, are already known to our readers*. Our author's remarks upon them are those of a dispassionate observer. The only character to which he discovers any partiality, is that of M. Calonne; and he records some anecdotes†, that reflect great honour upon the memory of that unfortunate statesman.

M. Puissaye concludes the general view he takes of the causes of the Revolution, with observing, that although his speculations upon them may appear very remote from the history of his life, he conceived it necessary to enable his contemporaries to judge of his conduct since the Revolution, by putting them in possession of the opinions and principles which he held before it. He then enters upon his private history. He is descended of one of the most distinguished families in Perché, and was originally destined for the church; but abandoned his studies at an early age, and obtained a commission in a regiment of cavalry. He afterwards left the army, and married in 1788. In the year following, he was elected to represent the nobility of Perché in the States-General, without any solicitation on his part. The instructions with which he was then provided were, to renounce for his constituents all claim to pecuniary immunities; but not to consent to any impost until the constitution should be settled upon the basis of an acknowledgement of the inherent powers of the States-General to make laws and impose taxes. It was recommended to him to support the division of the States into separate deliberative bodies.

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* No. I. Art. I. † Vol. II. p. 9.

The first question which divided the Nobles was, whether the powers they received from their constituents should be examined by all the orders, or by each order separately? Both the majority and minority of the Chamber of Nobles considered this as decisive of the great question, whether the three orders should deliberate together, or separately? Our author, with a degree of refinement which such questions do not appear to admit, voted for having the powers of each representative examined by all the orders, though he, upon all occasions, declared his resolution to oppose the legislative junction of the three orders. In vindication of this conduct, M. Puissaye maintains, that every member of the assembly had a just right to be satisfied with the powers of those who exercised legislative functions. The question he considered as in itself too trifling to be contested, and as likely to exasperate the third estate, from whom more substantial concessions were to be required. We must observe, that, independently of the endless disputes to which such an examination would give rise, the members of every representative body are best acquainted with the rights of their constituents, and are most interested to preserve them. It may sometimes be necessary, in order to counteract the effects of partiality and intrigue, to delegate such a task to a smaller number, on whom the restraints of character and responsibility may operate more powerfully. But it never can be a wise measure, to place minute and tedious investigations in the hands of a more numerous body. Neither can we agree with M. Puissaye, that such a concession was likely to produce any good effects.

Our author gives many striking instances of the intrigues and cabals which prevailed at this time. He complains loudly of the monotony of talents which prevailed, and of the want of a man of commanding genius, able to awe and repress the silly orators, who daily came forward, and who were ready to sacrifice every principle to the pleasure of making a speech. What our author lamented, was a matter of exultation to others. A courtier who sat near M. Puissaye could not conceal his satisfaction 'at having as yet heard nothing which made him feel any apprehensions;' and added, that 'he began to think that he would have some weight.' Vol. I. p. 223.

M. Puissaye then illustrates his favourite position, that the downfal of the monarchy cannot be attributed to the effort of any individual, or of any party, by a sketch which he draws of Orleans.* It is too long to lay before our readers; but we strongly recom-

* Vol. I. p. 238.

mend it to their perusal, as showing uncommon acuteness, and great powers of observation. The conclusion which he forms is, that no party existed during the first years of the Revolution. No faction possessed that degree of union, attachment, or mutual cooperation which could entitle them to such appellation. The Orleans faction, he observes, so far from forming a party, to which the fall of the state can be attributed, was merely the result of the general relaxation of order, and the imbecility of the government.

M. Puissaye, from having voted with the minority on the first question, was invited to attend their meetings, and was at last persuaded to go to one held at the Marquis of Montesquiou's, master of the horse to Monsieur, now Lewis XVIII. He was then surprised to find, along with the deputies of the minority, at least an equal number of those who in public acted along with the majority. Nothing remarkable took place at this meeting, or nothing which could induce our author to vary from the principles which he had already adopted, of avoiding all political connexions. In conformity with the instructions of his constituents, and his own opinion, he steadily opposed the measure of uniting the three orders into one chamber. This important measure was at length agreed to by the Court, after a feeble show of opposition, which deprived them of any temporary popularity which so important a concession might have produced. Our author considered this as a measure which was calculated to lead to all the disorders which afterwards took place; and his first resolution was to resign his seat, and retire to his province, until he should be called upon to act. By the advice of his friends, however, and the entreaties of his constituents, he was prevailed upon to remain; but when he returned to the Assembly, he gave in a protest against the union of the three orders, and refused to deliver up the instructions of his constituents. After giving an account of the violent measures which were daily adopted by the Assembly, our author enlarges upon the disgraceful partiality with which they passed over the riots of the 5th and 6th of October, in which, according to the report of the *Chatelet*, the Duke of Orleans, Mirabeau, and many others of the Assembly, were deeply implicated. Some of the minority signed a protest against it. Our author, who had not been acquainted with their intentions, drew up a declaration of the same nature for himself, which was inserted in the Gazette of Paris.* M. Puissaye complains that

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M. Puissaye cautions the reader against confounding the *Gazette de Paris* with the *Journal de Paris*,—papers diametrically opposite.

some of the agents of the Royalist party at Paris afterwards endeavoured to spread a report, that he had belonged to the faction of Orleans; and he refers to a letter from *Brothier* and *La Villeheurnay*, which proves that they wrote to him that they intended to reprint M. Puissaye's declaration, and to distribute it anew, at the very moment when they were privately propagating these falsehoods. This, our author observes, is but a small specimen of the intrigues and infamous devices by which he has been assailed for a long course of years.

Though M. Puissaye had retained his seat in compliance with the wishes of his constituents, and occasionally attended the meetings of the National Assembly, he determined to take no active share in its deliberations. He felt that even reason, eloquence, and truth, could have no effect upon men who were determined to resist conviction; and he therefore resolved not to sanction the proceedings of an assembly which he considered as illegal, by becoming one of its orators. He then lays before his readers a letter addressed to the Compte d'Artois, in 1797, in which he vindicates himself from the charge of having sat on the left side of the Assembly. He throughout kept the same seat which had been appointed for him as a representative of the nobility; and when the members afterwards came to arrange themselves according to their factions, the one upon the extremity of the left side, and the others upon the right, he, along with some other representatives of the nobility, retained the seat which had been originally assigned him. He conceived that struggles and intrigues in that place could now be of no avail; and he endeavoured to form those connexions which might be of use in the more serious contest which he foresaw to be approaching. He occasionally attended the Assembly, to prevent any suspicions being entertained with regard to him; but he refused to become a member of any of the committees for which he was elected, and avoided all connexion with clubs or secret assemblies. When the King came to the Assembly, M. Puissaye took the constitutional oath along with the other members. He was, however, by no means blind to the glaring defects which that Constitution contained. After expressing his contempt for its authors, and enumerating its defects, he observes—

'This is, however, that constitution which I have sworn to maintain along with twenty-nine thirtieths of France. I do not blame those who refused to do so; but I considered it as the last resource, as the only weak prop which might still support for a time the state, which was already on the point of dissolution: and I have not hesitated to sacrifice my own ideas and personal interests to that motive.' Vol. I. p. 372.

The state of affairs, at this period, was widely different from what it was at the commencement of the Revolution, when delay and uncertainty were most pernicious; but, now, it was by delay alone that a favourable opportunity could be obtained. The next remarkable circumstance which occurred after the king's acceptance of the constitution, was his flight to Varennes; a step, which was occasioned by the outrages of the one party, and the solicitations of the other. Our author observes, that on this, as well as on many other occasions, the Royalist party adopted the very measures which their enemies wished them to take. After the King's flight to Varennes, and his arrest, he no longer enjoyed even the appearance of freedom which made his orders binding; and our author felt that the constitutional oath was annulled in point of fact, and that the time was come when force alone could rescue France from the abyss in which it was almost swallowed up. Our author had to choose between two measures—that of emigration or insurrection; and he preferred the latter. Subsequent events, he assures us, have not affected his opinion upon that subject. He felt that it was his duty to save his King and his country; and it did not occur to him to begin by abandoning both. (Vol. II. p. 6.) The interior of the kingdom offered much greater resources for the formation of a Royalist army; and the measure of assembling an army in a foreign country, where they must be entirely dependent on the powers with which they connected themselves, was calculated to defeat the success of the plan.

M. Puissaye enters into a discussion of the policy which it was expedient for foreign nations to observe when the French Revolution broke out; and he maintains, that the true interest of foreign powers was to avoid all offensive measures, and to form a defensive league to prevent any encroachment upon the part of the Revolutionary government. Before the Revolution, France was an object of jealousy to the other powers of Europe, from the extent of its territory, and the character of its population. When it changed its government, it was likely to become still more formidable. Offensive operations were, however, directly calculated to increase the power of the Revolutionary rulers, and to afford the means of forcing various classes of men to concur in their measures, who were otherwise disposed to oppose them. The same conclusions are drawn from a particular consideration of the policy of each individual nation. The combined powers, according to M. Puissaye, deviated from that policy, from views of aggrandizement which they were encouraged to entertain from the assurances they received of the weakness of the French government. The retreat

of the Duke of Brunswick, which has often been considered as so great a mystery, may thus be explained upon obvious principles. He entered France with the idea that he was to meet troops without courage or discipline, and an army whose officers were either ignorant of their profession, or disposed to betray them. The arrangement which had been made in that persuasion, and the expectations which had been built upon it, fell at once to the ground, when he found himself opposed by an army commanded by a most skilful general, who, after retreating from one strong position, was able to occupy another still more formidable. It is natural to suppose, that Prussia then perceived its mistake, and returned to that system of policy which she ought at first to have observed. It is no way improbable, however, that many secret intrigues may have taken place at this period. They would depend upon the state of the Prussian Court, and may have been as extraordinary and as mysterious as some writers have represented them. They are however to be considered, in that instance, as the result of a change of policy which naturally took place when that power discovered the gross error upon which it had proceeded, and not as the causes which produced it.

M. Puissaye, although he exposes the errors committed by the emigrants, professes the highest veneration for many individuals who were the victims of a high sense of honour, and of the most disinterested attachment to the cause of Royalty. The measure of emgirating, he observes, was adopted at the instigation of men who were strongly influenced by their own personal situation; whereas those who were able to remain in France, and who were by far the most numerous body, were the persons whose interests ought to have been principally consulted. M. Puissaye calculates that the emigrant army, before it was dismissed, amounted to no more than 30,000 men; while some insulated individuals in *Poitou*, in *Britanny*, and *Anjon*, raised at different times upwards of 500,000 men. M. Puissaye therefore conceives that he does not overrate the magnitude of the army which might have been raised, if the French noblemen had remained in the country, when he states it at a million. He then answers the objection, that if the nobles had remained in the country, they would have been massacred in detail without being able to make any resistance. He observes, that the greater part of those who emigrated, were obliged to leave their aged relations, their wives, and their children behind them, exposed to all the violence of the reigning tyrants; and from his own experience, he declares, that the republicans were not so much disposed to indulge in massacre or pillage, when they knew

there was a powerful party in the country able to retaliate upon their persons and their property. In justice to the emigrant armies, he observes, that their conduct has sufficiently shown, that the nobility of France were eager to expose their lives, where that could promote the success of their cause: And if they had remained in the country, many of the massacres would have been prevented by the apprehensions of the cowardly assassins who effected them. If the emigrants had remained in the country, they would have had no occasion to court the protection of foreign powers; and therefore, any negociations they entered into with them, would have been made upon a more independent footing, and they might have acted in concert with them without injuring their own cause.

M. Puissaye endeavoured to follow out the views of insurrection which he had formed. The inhabitants of *Meuilles*, who were sufficiently numerous to form a battalion, unanimously chose him their commander. The district of *Devereux* afterwards had recourse to him to superintend its organization, and he obtained the command of about 4000 men. The measure of emigration now came to operate generally, and those who resorted to that measure adopted it with enthusiasm: on the other hand, those who did not concur in it, became violent on the other side. The refusal of invitations to emigrate produced reproaches, which were followed by threats. The Royalists even went so far as to keep lists of the dates of emigrations; and a week sooner or later was held to form a shade of difference in their pretensions. So confident were they of success, that they considered those who were late in joining them, as intruders among those on whom the rewards of the restoration were to be bestowed. In these circumstances, few men could remain neutral, except those feeble spirits who, in times of distraction, endeavour to save themselves by keeping up connexions with both parties. The number of such men, we are told, was immense (Vol. II. 68, 69.); and it was only in Britanny, Poitou, Anjou, and some of the southern parts of France, that any energy was shown. M. Puissaye, however, found a sufficient number of men whom he could depend upon, to intrust with the most important stations. All that he could do with the rest, was to lead them indirectly to the object he had in view. While he was employed in procuring the information, and forming the arrangements necessary for his purpose, the horrors of the 10th of August took place. The electoral assemblies were at that time convoked, to elect their representatives in the Convention. M. Puissaye was upon the point of being chosen; but the Jacobins had recourse to

an intrigue, which prevented his election. Our author declares, that although he took no steps to obtain votes, he would have accepted the situation. He had no longer the same motives to restrain him from acting, which had operated so powerfully upon him in the Constituent Assembly; and he thought that his efforts might have contributed to preserve the life of the King, and that the situation would have been favourable to the plans he had in view.

Baron Wimpffen, the defender of *Thionville*, was one of the persons whose assistance M. Puissaye was most desirous to procure. He did not at once disclose to him his ultimate designs, but proposed to him the measure of raising an army of the line in Normandy. He represented to him the probability, that undisciplined troops, raised in other parts, would be sent there under the command of some ignorant and inexperienced Jacobin, and that this inconvenience would be avoided by raising an army entirely composed of men in the country commanded by M. Wimpffen. M. Puissaye engaged to get the two departments of *l'Orne* and *l'Eure* to propose the plan, while Wimpffen undertook for the departments of *Calvados* and *La Manche*. M. Wimpffen appeared to enter into all his views, and M. Puissaye entertained hopes of saving the King, which were soon afterwards disappointed by his sudden trial and execution. After this event, General Wimpffen was chosen commander of the army which was to be raised in Normandy, and our author was placed at the head of his staff. The army was to consist of 17 or 18,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry. There was at that time at *Caën* a regiment of light cavalry newly raised, commanded by Colonel *Dumont*, a brave and loyal officer.

While M. Puissaye was employed in carrying on these arrangements, the downfal of the *Girondists* took place. The members of that party who escaped from Paris, endeavoured to prevail upon the provinces to take up arms in their behalf. M. Puissaye had no attachment to their characters or plans; and declares he has no doubt that, if they had succeeded, they would have subjected France to a tyranny not less odious than that which was ultimately imposed upon it, though probably more permanent, as the work of greater reflection. In the present state of his preparations, he felt that adopting their cause would be ruinous to his designs; though, if his preparations had been farther advanced, he might have availed himself of the opportunity to overthrow the power of the convention. He was invited to attend a general assembly of the members of the districts and municipalities at *Alençon*; and the meeting seemed disposed

to adopt the cause of the fugitives, when his opinion was asked. He prevailed upon them to take no further step than that of sending deputies to consult with the other departments. He was prevailed upon to go as one of these deputies; and on his way he received intelligence that *Wimpffen* had been forced to accept the command of the insurrection, and that when he at first refused to do so, his life was threatened. M. Puissaye felt himself called upon to abandon his own opinion, and join his commander. When they met, Wimpffen confirmed the accounts which he had received upon the road, and, from the language he held, showed he had no expectation of success. M. Puissaye now felt himself bound to use every exertion to support his friend and commander. When he returned to *Alençon*, he found that a material change had taken place in the sentiments of the people. The Jacobins had used every measure to make themselves popular; and M. Puissaye was reminded that he had held very different sentiments a few days before. It was in vain he represented that the other departments had not at that time declared themselves, and that it was necessary to do nothing with precipitation; but that after having determined, it was their interest and duty to join in a cause which was now no longer that of individuals. The intrigues and money of the Convention, however, prevailed, and it was with difficulty that our author escaped from *Alençon*.

The events which followed are minutely detailed, and are such as might be expected to take place in an insurrection of men, whose sentiments and ideas were so widely different. *Schærer*, afterwards minister of war, was appointed to command the troops opposed to them by the Convention. M. Puissaye was sent to stop his march; and took the post of *Cosheril*, after a slight resistance. In this command, he had many difficulties to contend with. Each of the battalions of volunteers brought along with them one or two commissaries from their respective departments, who claimed a right to direct, or at least to be consulted upon all occasions. *Bougon*, procureur-general of the department of *Calvados*, was particularly absurd and troublesome. Some persons suspected him of holding a correspondence with the Convention. M. Puissaye acquits him of that charge; but, at the same time, describes him as one of those vain and weak characters, who, while they grasp at every personal advantage, in case their party shall succeed, endeavour to secure a retreat in case of failure. When M. Puissaye determined to attack the enemy, *Bougon*, after using every expedient to prevent a measure so opposite to his sentiments, consoled himself, by drawing up a proclamation, which

he insited on having read, even after the enemy had begun their fire, in order, as he said, that it might at least be known that *they had begun first.* The engagement took place upon the 14th of July, near the Castle of *Brécourt*, which is situated between the forests of *Vernon* and *Pacy.* The troops of the convention began the attack. They were, however, thrown into confusion upon the first charge. M. Puissaye was then desirous to pursue them; but he found that his cavalry, who were not accustomed to the sound of cannon, were thrown into confusion—the enemy got into the woods—and the commissaries insisted upon the danger of ambuscades and masked batteries in case they pursued. M. Puissaye then wished to return to *Pacy*, where he would be secure from surprise; but the commissaries opposed this also, and magnanimously insisted upon keeping possession of the field of battle. After giving orders for placing the proper guards, M. Puissaye, who had suffered severely from excessive fatigue and the heat of the weather, which had brought on an attack of the erysipelas, had not been above two hours in bed, when he was awaked by an attack of the enemy. Finding that they were not pursued, the conventional troops had rallied, and had passed the outposts, without being perceived by the guards, who had fallen asleep. The greater part of M. Puissaye's troops immediately took flight, and cried out they were betrayed. One corps alone remained. In the midst of the confusion, M. Puissaye, with some difficulty, got two guns pointed at the enemy, which dismounted one of their cannon. They immediately ceased firing, took to flight, and their cavalry did not stop until it arrived near Versailles. The confusion on the part of the victorious troops was however irretrievable. Although there was no enemy near them, no persuasion could induce them to return to the ground they had occupied. Even the patroles that were sent out, were so much terrified, that before they had gone a mile and a half, they returned with assurances that the enemy was in their immediate neighbourhood. This panic was decisive of the fate of the insurrection. The money distributed by the emissaries of the convention completed what terrer had begun; and M. Puissaye was obliged to follow his troops to *Evereux*, and afterwards to *Caën. Wimpffen* proposed, if he could have obtained a thousand men, to have maintained a strong position before Caën; but none were willing to engage in the service, and they were obliged to separate.

The whole of these transactions are extremely characteristic of the state of the country, and of the conduct of the persons and troops engaged in the business upon both sides. The insurgents either retired to places of concealment, or endeavoured to obtain terms from the convention. *Carrier*

entered Rennes, and made all that affected display of humanity which the revolutionary cut-throats at one time thought proper to profess. Transparent lamps, representing the national colours, were hung up in the streets upon a rejoicing which took place. *Carrier* went up and down the streets breaking with his stick those transparencies which were red. 'That colour,' said he, 'fills me with horror—it conveys ideas of blood.' *Carrier* held this language! Vol. II. p. 216.

M. Puissaye, with some other associates, retired into Brittany, where he remained for some time in concealment. We do not wish to diminish the interest our readers will take in reading the book, by anticipating the account of the many escapes and adventures he passed through. He found a great party of the people discontented with the Convention, and others decided Royalists. Most of their priests still remained among them in disguise, and were concealed in mines and places under ground. M. Puissaye vindicates them from the charge which has been made against them, of endeavouring to excite their parishioners to revolt, by employing tricks and fanatical devices. Our author declares, that in the midst of all their persecutions, they uniformly preached doctrines of the purest morality. M. Puissaye gradually obtained the confidence of the people among whom he was concealed, and was invited to place himself at their head. His plan was, to form his partizans into very small parties, and to accustom them gradually to face an enemy. He was aware that if men are undisciplined, it is impossible for them to act with effect in large bodies. His reflections upon this subject, though they have rather the air of a moralist than of a revolutionary leader, shew great powers of discrimination.

'True courage,' he observes, 'is the result of reflection It is a prostitution of that word to apply it to the effects of any passion, although they sometimes supply its place. Experience confirms and develops it. I have seen a man who had run away before my eyes at the first sound of a shot, after some experience face the greatest dangers with intrepidity. It is absurd to say such a nation is brave—such another is not. There is not a nation, on the face of the earth, which has not at some periods been distinguished for its valour. If we go back to those periods, we shall see, that this courage, so much celebrated, proceeded from long service. There is no more merit in being brave after a few battles, than in making good shoes after a long apprenticeship. A soldier is formed like an artizan. The first National Guards of France began by flying tumultuously before the allied armies. Hardened by experience, they would have removed the frontiers of their country to the boundaries of Europe, and overturned the world. In this respect, those powers, whose armies took but a small

share in the last war, have lost more than they are aware of, in case, what is more than probable, Europe shall again become the theatre of war, before the other nations shall have lost, by repose and tranquillity, the incalculable superiority they have received. This observation, the accuracy of which is proved by every day's experience, confirmed me in my fixed resolution never to expose myself to an important defeat by assembling too great bodies together, and to spare the lives of men who, although at first timid, and perhaps, even on a second occasion not much at their ease, would sooner or later become excellent soldiers. On this account, I had at first introduced the custom of dispersing, if victory did not very soon declare itself in our favour. All the roads and by-paths were known to our troops, the enemy, who were ignorant of them, found it impossible to pursue; and the inhabitants of the country either gave them false information, or conducted them into ambuscades. When the enemy was broken, that circumstance operated against them. Their defeats were followed with slaughter. Those of the Royalists did not cost them the life of a man.' Vol. II. p. 416.

From other passages which occur in these Memoirs, these remarks must be understood with considerable limitations, and as applying only to the mechanical or instinctive influence of fear. M. Puissaye seems fully aware of the powerful effect of moral motives upon the conduct of men, in enabling them to act with superior courage and energy. In the course of these Memoirs, he frequently celebrates the heroic qualities of his countrywomen. Upon most occasions he employed them to reconnoitre the enemy, and to procure intelligence, and they executed their trust with great intrepidity and address.

The tyranny of the Convention, and the cruelties exercised by the Jacobins, greatly augmented the numbers of M. Puissaye's partizans. The frequent executions which took place, while they awed the inhabitants of the towns, roused the inhabitants of the country to revolt. The victims were by no means selected from the higher ranks of the people: the lowest classes suffered equally. After the decree which was passed against what were called the enemies of the people, persons of all descriptions were involved in the massacres which took place. The first person who was condemned in consequence of this decree, was a hackney-coachman, accused of having formed a conspiracy against the people. M. Puissaye assures us (Vol. II. p. 491.), that besides the regulations which carried away men of these classes from their wives and children, and the blood they shed in order to raise a few of their pretended friends to situations in which they insulted their misery, nine tenths of the victims who perished on the revolutionary scaffolds, in *noyades* and *fusillades*, were composed of the lowest classes of the people. Amidst the many melancholy reflections to which the perusal of these state-

ments must naturally give rise, the mind is somewhat relieved by the many instances which are related of humanity, fidelity, and heroism upon the part of the lower ranks. At a time when the tyranny exercised by the Jacobins was such, that the discovery of any article of dress of a finer texture, a shirt or a piece of fine linen, was sufficient ground for condemning the inhabitants of the houses, M. Puissaye met with kindness, fidelity, and protection. In all the plans which he afterwards formed, the great cause of his success was the tyranny of the Jacobins; and the most formidable obstacles he encountered, arose from the imprudence of the emigrants, and the conduct of the allied powers. Political information was now widely diffused through all ranks of the people. They required some assurance that the threats originally held out by the Royalists should not be realized, and that the abuses of the old government should not be restored. M. Puissaye observes, that the French Princes have been strangely deceived when they were told (p. 395.) that a word or an order was sufficient to put all the Royalists in France in motion. This was not language to be held, when they were not able to afford protection or offer rewards, and had not a gun or a piece of money to bestow. M. Puissaye observes, that

—'attachment to principles, love of your country and your king, and devotion to the cause of religion and of the laws, are assuredly respectable and powerful principles; but it is chimerial to suppose that they are sufficient, if they are not supported by the feeling of individual interest, which is ennobled by these motives. That feeling is necessary to bind together a mass composed of such various and unequal materials. I have seen few Royalists who have not suffered more or less from the effects of the Revolution. I have not seen one of the partizans of that party who did not expect to gain more or less by declaring in favour of it.'

There appears a great deal of truth in these observations, though it will not be easy to persuade princes of their justice.

M. Puissaye steadily adhered to his plan of organizing a large force, and avoiding any great enterprize, until he should have a reasonable prospect of success. In order to complete his arrangements, he left the departments of *Ile* and *Vilaine*, in which he had chiefly resided, and traversed that of *Morbihan*. After having acquired the necessary information, he set out on the 15th of September 1794, for England, in order to concert measures for a cooperation upon the part of that power.

These interesting Memoirs here terminate where they become most important: and it is with some anxiety we look for the continuation of them which is promised, and which will include an account of the events which led to the peace of *Prevalaye*, and the fate of the expedition to Quiberon.

It would be premature to offer any observations upon M. Puissaye's conduct, before we are possessed of the subsequent part of his Memoirs. It is in that part we expect to find an answer to the most important charges which have been brought against him. We have no hesitation in recommending these two volumes to our readers as the work of a man of very superior talents. The occasion upon which they are written, and the situation in which they were composed, are a sufficient excuse for many defects which a little care and attention might have removed. We cannot help, however, expressing our regret, that an author who is able to write so well, should have so frequently fallen into that diffuse and declamatory style, which has for many years been too prevalent among French writers.

The political reflections which are made in the course of these Memoirs, are a sufficient proof that the author is possessed of an acute and penetrating understanding, which has been carefully cultivated; and we are anxious for the continuation of a work from which we expect to derive much interesting and curious information.

ART. VIII. *Specimens of British Minerals, selected from the Cabinet of Philip Rashleigh, of Menabilly, Esq. M. P. F. R. S. & F. A. S.* London, Part I. 1797. Part II. 1802. Quarto.

THEY are truly wise who, when possessed of the rarer products of nature or of art, are liberal enough to gratify public curiosity. Gold has no value in the strong-box; it is only when put into circulation that it repays the toils of acquisition; and rarities are only valuable to most collectors, in proportion to the current coin of admiration for which the sight of them can be exchanged; and this species of barter is so agreeable and advantageous to both parties, that no means should be neglected to encourage and extend it.

The remote situation of Menabilly prevents many mineralogists from availing themselves of the liberality with which Mr. Rashleigh exhibits his collection of minerals. With a highly laudable disposition to diffuse information, he has published this work, decorated by delineations of select specimens, and illustrated by short descriptions of the minerals, and indications of their localities. He modestly disclaims an intimate acquaintance with the refinements of modern mineralogy and chemistry; and, contented with a simple statement of facts, leaves to his readers the amusement of accommodating them to their favourite hypothesis.

We need not bestow any particular consideration on the text, which is obviously introduced merely to render the plates intelli-

gible. The few explanatory observations are so unobtrusive and unpretending, that they afford little room for remark; and though we regret that they leave us with only limited information of the objects they mention, we cannot justly complain of that being only imperfectly done, the performance of which we had no reason to expect. Though the modern changes in chemical nomenclature may not be familiar to the writer, yet we may observe, that as his work is chiefly intended for the amusement and instruction of those who are remote from Cornwall, he should not have used the technical provincialisms without explanation. We fear that to the inhabitants of the greater part of Britain, *lodes* and *elvans* will sound rather unintelligible.

The plates form the most important part of this work; and upon them we shall venture some observations. There is no department of natural history which has not been made the subject of painting; but all its branches are not equally capable of being illustrated by the imitative art. Generally speaking, there is no visible object, of which painting cannot communicate a more or less perfect idea; but the important application of such representations to scientific purposes, must depend on the facility and precision with which the essential characteristics of the object can be expressed. The three great divisions of natural objects are very variously susceptible of illustration from painting. Of animals it affords the most correct and intelligible description; for nearly all their characteristics are easily and distinctly represented; and so trifling are the differences between those of the same kind, that a species is easily recognised from the portrait of an individual. The diversities of vegetables of the same species being greater than those of animals, and the essential characteristics being lodged in the parts of fructification, which are often so minute as not to be expressed by the pencil with proper distinctness, render their delineation a less perfect description. In vegetables, however, as well as animals, the essentials are always apparent; and the application of painting to their description is only regulated by the facility of the representation. But in minerals, the essential characteric seldom resides in the visible external characters, except in cases of accurate crystallization. The hardness, the specific gravity, the tenacity, must all be known; the fracture remains for painting, but even that cannot be expressed with any correct resemblance of the natural appearance. Colour may indeed be approximated; but in minerals, it is of all characters the most unimportant, and the peculiarities of lustre, which are of more consequence, are proportionably difficult to represent. It is not enough that a general similitude be attained. Place the object itself at a small

distance, and no mineralogist can ascertain its species. It may be cinnabar, or red copper, or iron ore, or red jasper, or a piece of brick. A near and minute examination of texture, colour, and lustre, may reveal what the substance is; but, let the painter attempt to transfer these peculiarities to his canvass, and the patience of a Mœris or a Gerrard David will sink in the attempt. Delineation can only be essentially advantageous to mineralogy, by tracing crystalline forms with precision; but, for that purpose, the ruler and compasses are wanted—away with the pencil and colours.

The splendid volumes before us afford a striking illustration of these remarks. Almost every one of the highly coloured plates which it contains, bears a strong general resemblance to the delineated object. To the superficial observer, this may appear quite enough; and to those who merely look at minerals as children do at pictures, to regale their eyes with vivid colours, this work will be a treasure. Surely it was not for their use only that it was designed; and yet we fear few others will find it profitable.

We cannot attribute this failure (for such we must consider it) to any neglect on the part of Mr. Rashleigh to give his book every perfection of which it was susceptible. The style in which the plates are executed, proves him to have employed an artist of considerable ability, who has only failed, in not being able to extend the empire of painting over a province which we fear will ever refuse her sway. He has, however, given us many brilliant and beautiful, if not characteristic and instructive engravings; and the delineations of two organic bodies, a fossil bivalve shell and an echinus, serve to illustrate his own skill, and define the boundaries of his art.

He seems very naturally to have shrunk from the difficulties of his undertaking, and to have preferred a general felicity of effect, to an accuracy which, however desirable, prodigious labour might have failed in attaining; to have dashed out groups of crystals with daring indistinctness, and to have trusted to the outline of a detached crystal, magnified, for conveying a more correct idea of the object intended to be represented. Even these detached figures are inaccurately drawn; and the artist seems to have depended more on delicate tints, than on the correctness of his forms.

Though the colours that adorn some minerals are superb, it must not be imagined that every specimen glows with the prismatic hues, though this is an opinion which the greater number of these prints is calculated to disseminate. Yet some allowance must be made for the inaccuracy of the inferior artists, who are

employed to transfer to prints the tints of an original drawing.

The minerals represented in this work are mostly extracted from the mines of Cornwall, and not a few of them are peculiar to that district. The fibrous tin ore, very improperly called wood tin, has never been found elsewhere; and the continental mines have only produced very imperfect specimens of arseniate of copper, a substance whose beautiful and numerous varieties have been the subject of the accurate analysis of Mr. Chenevix, and of a chrystallographical description by the Count de Bournon, in the Philosophical Transactions. Mr. Rashleigh has favoured us with a drawing of hydrophanous chalcedony investing tin ore. We are surprised that the beautiful stalactitic capillary and investing chalcedonies of Trevaskus mine have been omitted by him, and that he has given us no drawing of the schorls, of which Cornwall produces beautiful specimens. The phosphates of lime adhering to talc, present some of the rare chrystalline modifications; but no notice is taken of them, or of the capillary native silver of Herland mine, or of many other singular products of the country. Such minerals would, we think, have proved more generally interesting than the Derbyshire calcareous spars and fluors, or the fossil shell and the echinus in fluid, which last is far from appearing to us a clear demonstration of the Neptunian origin of the flint. The agency of the aqueous formation would have been more strikingly illustrated by some of the specimens of martial pyrites investing pieces of unaltered wood, and sometimes completely assuming its form, by pervading its substance; which are abundantly found in the peat that covers the gravel mixed with tin ore at the steam work at Carnon.

ART. IX. *A System of Chemistry.* In Four Volumes. By Thomas Thomson M. D. Lecturer on Chemistry in Edinburgh. The Second Edition. Edinburgh: Printed for Bell & Bradfute and E. Balfour; G. & J. Robinson, London; and Gilbert & Hodges, Dublin. 4 vols. 8vo. 2638 pages.

THE first edition of this work was published a little while before the commencement of our undertaking; and we are much pleased to find that its success has been so great, as already to give us an opportunity of noticing it in its present improved state. With the very great merits of the former edition we were well acquainted; and must regret, with every lover of the science, that it met even with one solitary instance of uncandid severity.

We perused the first part of the preface with much satisfaction. We admired the author's spirited defence of the state of chemistry in Britain, against the misrepresentations of foreigners; and fully subscribed to the just encomium which he finds it necessary to pronounce on his own merits. The second part, however, in which he in some measure develops the plan of his work, rather checked our growing partiality; for, instead of returning thanks to our fellow labourers on the other side of the Tweed, for the almost unqualified approbation which they bestowed on his former edition, or soliciting the same attention to the present, he boldly sets our whole corporation at defiance, and denies the competency of our tribunal. Indeed, it is not difficult to discover that it is the Doctor's honest opinion, that no person is qualified to judge of his performance but himself; for who else is there 'who has the same turn of thinking, who possesses the same information, and who has bestowed on the subject the same patient meditation?' In the description of those capable of criticizing his arrangement, he is, if possible, still more fastidious. They must not only possess all the necessary mental qualifications, but they must be authors or teachers, and must have no arrangement of their own. In short Dr. Thomson's arrangement must not be criticized. But if, in our author's opinion, extraordinary qualifications be necessary to judge of his plan and arrangement, still more extraordinary abilities were necessary to contrive it. 'Few consider that the art of arranging is one of the most difficult tasks of the philosopher; that it requires a comprehensiveness of mind, a clearness of judgment, and a patience of labour, which fall to the lot of a small number only of the human race.' Whatever Dr. Thomson may think of his own abilities, compared with those of other men, there is certainly some degree of imprudence in this publication of his sentiments; for he ought to be aware, that though men may sometimes forget to applaud the modesty of an author, they never fail to resent his arrogance.

'The object of this work is to exhibit as complete a view as possible of the present state of chemistry, and to trace at the same time its gradual progress, from its first dawnings as a science, to the improved state which it has now attained.' It also comprehends 'the application of that science to substances as they exist in nature, constituting the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms.' The plan, abstractly considered, is excellent; but there have been, it seems, some people so narrow-minded, and others so extravagant in their ideas, as not to be pleased with it; the one set pretending that it contains too little, the other that it contains too much. These opposite opinions,

our author thinks, refute and exactly neutralise each other, and suggest to him this very comfortable conclusion, that in all probability he has not deviated very far from that happy middle path which he ought to follow. But, in the fulness of his joy, he seems to have forgotten that these premises afford room for another conclusion, namely, that it may contain too much of what it should not contain, and too little of what it should contain; too little chemistry, for example, and too much extraneous matter. This, at least so far as regards the manner in which the plan is executed, appears to us to be really the case; but our reasons for entertaining this opinion, will appear as we proceed in the analysis of the work.

The work is divided into two principal parts; the first comprehending the science of chemistry, and the second the chemical examination of nature. The first part contains three books, which treat, in succession, of simple substances—of compound bodies—and of affinity. The two first classes are again divided and subdivided into orders and species. Nothing can be more simple, scientific and beautiful than the arrangement. Indeed, our author seems so much enamoured of it himself, that he gives it as his decided opinion, that 'if this work possess any superiority over others, if it be more perspicuous or complete, we must ascribe it to the arrangement.' The superiority of this book to most other systems of chemistry we are not disposed to deny; but we are less inclined to ascribe it to the merit of the arrangement, than to the circumstance of its having been written *after* all the other systems, and to the patient industry of the author in observing and collecting facts. Indeed, so well has Dr. Thomson availed himself of these advantages, that we have no doubt but his system will be considered as a valuable repository of facts long after the peculiarities of its arrangement shall be forgotten. It may appear strange, that we should value at so low a rate an arrangement which, we are told by its contriver, 'is independent of hypothesis, and as nearly inductive or analytical as was consistent with the state of the science,' which 'presupposes no previous knowledge of the subject, and begins with those parts which have been most successfully investigated, and which therefore admit of a plainer and simpler mode of illustration.' To the whole of this eulogium, however, we can by no means subscribe; on the contrary, we are inclined to think that an arrangement, possessing all the advantages he describes, is, in the present state of the science, impracticable; and that Dr. Thomson himself has found it so.

The first peculiarity of Dr. Thomson's arrangement, is the attempt to communicate the knowledge of a physical science in the same way in which it was originally acquired, by simply stating, in

the first place, all the particular facts, and gradually ascertaining the general laws by induction. This method certainly possesses one evident advantage. The general principles of the science can be afterwards explained in the fullest and most satisfactory manner, as we are already in possession of the immense mass of facts from which they are derived, and by which they may be illustrated. But the disadvantages with which it is attended are infinitely greater. From having no general principles to direct us at the outset, the detail of facts must be dry and uninteresting; their relative importance cannot be perceived when they are stated; their connexion with each other will be overlooked, and they will be remembered with infinitely greater difficulty; while the general doctrines may be sufficiently explained by numberless familiar facts and illustrations, easily understood by every one entering on the study of chemistry. Thus, Dr. Thomson himself, under the very first article, Oxygen, finds himself obliged to explain the general doctrine of Affinity; and under the second, Sulphur, gives an account of the different theories of Combustion. We are therefore inclined still to prefer the common didactic method of first explaining the more general doctrines, to Dr. Thomson's apparently more philosophical arrangement of arriving at all his general doctrines by induction.

The other peculiarity of Dr. Thomson's arrangement, if we can call that a peculiarity which has been adopted by others, is the division of bodies into simple and compound. Now, the Doctor has told us, that 'very possibly the bodies, which we reckon simple, may be compound; but till this has been actually proved, we have no right to suppose it; and as some substances which have not been decomposed, are very analogous in their properties to others whose composition is ascertained, it necessarily follows, that if we arrange them among the compound bodies, our system becomes hypothetical; and if we rank them as simples, it becomes artificial and unnatural. Besides, there are very few, even of those which are considered as simple substances, which ever were the objects of any of our senses, except in a state of composition. Let us examine, for instance, those called simple substances by our author. His *unconfinable* bodies, light and caloric, are refrangible, and may be decomposed into rays. Of the confinable substances, the metals and simple combustibles, according to the hypothesis which our author adopts, are compounds of an unknown base and light. Azote and muriatic acid are suspected by him to be compounds. At any rate, they, as well as oxygen (the only remaining simple substance), never exist but in a state of combination.

But even granting, for the sake of argument, that the presence

of the unconfinable bodies does not make substances compound, which would otherwise be simple, Dr. Thomson has found himself under the necessity of departing most materially from the principles of his arrangement, the moment he attempts to apply them. Two alkalies and nine earths, although they have never been decomposed, are classed by him among the compounds; and, on the contrary, of thirty-seven acids, three only have not been decomposed; and of these three, two are left among the compound bodies; while one, the muriatic, is separated from all the others, and placed among the simple substances. Nothing can demonstrate more forcibly that these principles are either fundamentally erroneous, or at least inapplicable in the present state of the science. The earths and alkalies are classed with compounds, not only on account of their analogy to ammonia, but because all other simple bodies, it seems, are connected together, either by common properties, or by the part which they act in combustion; whereas these have no such connexion. The latter of these two arguments is of no weight whatever; for it certainly does not follow, that because some simple bodies have an affinity for oxygen, all simple bodies must have such an affinity. The analogy to ammonia is not more satisfactory; for if Dr. Thomson had followed up his own principles of arrangement, and divided compounds, as he has done simple bodies, into supporters, combustibles, and incombustibles, the substances in question must have been separated from ammonia; that alkali being combustible, and the earths and other alkalies incombustible. The analogical reasons for classing the muriatic acid among simple bodies, are still less convincing. 'Even muriatic acid,' says our author himself, 'though its resemblance to azote is striking, differs from it in so many particulars, that I dare not venture to separate it from the class of acids under which it has been hitherto arranged.' Since our author himself confesses that azote, and muriatic acid, differ in many particulars from each other, it will save us the trouble of proving it; but we must observe, that although he has not ventured to separate muriatic acid from the class of acids, an account of its characteristic properties occupies the second section of the chapter on *simple* incombustibles, while, in compliance with the usual custom of chemists, he has reserved an account of the properties of liquid muriatic acid for the chapter on acids, where it is again misplaced among the acid supporters. In all this, there is much of that inconsistency which must necessarily arise when we attempt to accommodate facts to an arbitrary and artificial system.

His simple substances are subdivided into confinable and unconfinable. One reason given for employing these words, is sa-

tisfactory—that they were necessary to express the ideas he meant to convey; namely, 'that we are able to confine the first set in vessels, but that the second cannot be confined in any vessel.' But when we come to find the use he makes of these terms, and especially when he adds, that 'all the terms that have been hitherto employed to characterise these two sets of bodies, convey some hypothesis or other, which, in a work of this kind, it is necessary as much as possible to avoid,' we find ourselves compelled to object, first, that the application of his terms is inconsistent with fact; and, secondly, that other terms have been already employed which conveyed no hypothesis. It appears to us, that whatever can be excluded, can also be confined; and whatever can be impeded in its progress, is not absolutely unconfinable. The bodies which he calls unconfinable are, light, caloric, electricity, and magnetism. The two last are not treated of in this work. With regard to caloric, the difficulty with which it permeates certain bodies is well known. Clothing is used to confine the warmth of the body; our furnaces are constructed of bad conductors, to prevent the dissipation of the heat; and caloric may be absolutely confined in a vessel of ice, as long as the vessel itself will last. Light is still more confinable. Every room is furnished with shutters to exclude it, and the dark-lanthorn was contrived to confine it. The circumstance of these bodies possessing no determinable gravity, or being imponderable, which has been already employed to characterise them, is the simple enunciation of a fact, and not liable to similar objections. Dr. Thomson's confinable bodies are subdivided into oxygen, simple combustibles, and simple incombustibles.

The compounds are divided into primary and secondary. The former consists of two or more simple bodies united together, and the latter of two or more compounds. In this arrangement, there is no place allotted for the combinations of compounds with simple bodies. But, besides this omission, the division of compounds into primary and secondary in the present state of the science, must be entirely arbitrary or hypothetical. It is not only exposed to the general objection arising from our total ignorance of what bodies are really simple; but many of our author's primary compounds are, in fact, only known to us in a state of farther composition. Almost all the acids, as objects of our senses, are compounds of acid and water; and many of them, independently of this, are secondary compounds in the strict sense of the word. But waving as frivolous this objection, which applies to all substances composed of two ingredients which combine in more proportions than one, we are completely ignorant of the nature of the combinations formed by the union of three or more simple substances. We do not know whe-

ther the immense variety of these are primary compounds, resulting from various proportions of A, B, C, or whether A first unites with B, and then forms a secondary compound with C. Indeed, according to the opinions which Dr. Thomson afterwards advances when treating of affinity, there can be no secondary compounds.

In his subdivisions of the primary compounds, Dr. Thomson entirely renounces his general principles, and arranges them under the five heads of alkalies, earths, oxides, acids, and compound combustibles—natural classes which have been adopted by all preceding systematic writers. In thus deviating from his own peculiar principles, Dr. Thomson is certainly inconsistent; nor are we satisfied with his reasons for being so. These are stated in a preliminary note, in which he gives us a sketch of the arrangement he might have followed; and adds, 'but in the present imperfect state of the science, the advantages attending this arrangement would not compensate for the violence of the changes which it would introduce. It would oblige us to classify substances together, which have always been considered as distinct; and to separate many bodies which have hitherto been always grouped together. Besides, we would be forced to omit a number of substances which are still undecompounded, and which are not the less important, because they cannot with propriety be introduced among the simple substances.' The first argument, we confess, we did not expect from our author, who on so many occasions calls in question opinions the most universally received, and advances others so contradictory to all former observation, that he is in greater danger of being accused of temerity, and affectation of singularity, than of being blamed for blindly following established authorities, or regarding the prejudices of others. The second argument militates directly against the whole system. For what are we to think of an arrangement, in which a number of important bodies cannot with propriety be classed among the simple substances, and yet are positively excluded from any place among the compounds? We are the more astonished at this reason being given by our author for not following up the principles of his arrangement, as the objection might have been easily removed, and indeed, in strict conformity to the philosophy of arrangement, ought to have been removed, by adopting the same characters for distinguishing the orders of the compounds with those employed for the simple substances. Compound supporters, combustibles and incombustibles, would have comprehended every compound body.

Under the head of secondary compounds, are included some commonly received and natural families; but the classification is exceedingly defective.

The third book of the first part treats of Affinity.

The second part of this great work contains the chemical examination of nature; a subject certainly most intimately connected with the science of chemistry, but so far distinct from it, as not to be a necessary part of an elementary treatise, which ought to contain a complete view of the principles of the science, totally independent of its application to any purpose whatever.

We have been thus particular in our account of the arrangement of this work, because so much superiority has been ascribed to it by its author, and, in our opinion, without sufficient reason. It is every where inconsistent with its own principles; it is incomplete; it sometimes classes together bodies which have little analogy; but more frequently divides and subdivides the account of a connected subject into minute portions, which are scattered through very distant parts of the work. If it had been rendered totally independent of hypothesis, and completed on the same general principles, it might have afforded a very good tabular view of the science; but, as the outline of a detailed system, or as the text-book of a lecturer, it seems to be by no means preferable to those in common use.

It now remains to examine the execution of the work. In doing this, it will only be possible to notice such parts as appear particularly interesting, more especially those in which an author, of so great reputation, has committed errors, which might mislead readers less disposed to question his infallibility than we are. The definition of Chemistry is as unintelligible as abstract definitions of science usually are. It is said to be 'that science which treats of those events or changes which are not *accompanied* by sensible motions.' Dr. Thomson may probably consider it as an instance of vulgar prejudice: but we must confess that we have always considered the bursting of a bomb-shell and the elevation of the piston of a steam-engine as sensible motions. The definition is also particularly defective, in taking no notice of the most indispensable condition of chemical action, namely, the reciprocal action of at least two kinds of matter, and the change of properties occasioned by it.

After mentioning concisely the different epochs in the history of chemistry, Dr. Thomson enters upon his account of the simple bodies. The general manner in which he treats each of these, is, first to tell how it is procured, then to mention its physical properties, and, lastly, to detail its mode of action upon those other bodies which have been already described. The account of oxygen is necessarily very brief, as not one of its chemical properties can be explained, without supposing some previous chemical knowledge. This inconvenience is not peculiar to Dr. Thomson's arrangement, and indeed cannot easily be

avoided. But it would surely have been better to have commenced with a class of tangible bodies, than to have plunged his readers, in the very first page, into all the intricacies of the description of a pneumatic apparatus, and to have perplexed them with different kinds of gases, before they can be supposed to have formed any conception of air being a body possessing chemical properties, or indeed to have any conception of chemical properties at all. This section concludes with an explanation of affinity; which shews, in the first place, that Dr. Thomson cannot proceed a single step, without explaining the general doctrines of chemistry: and, secondly, how few facts are sufficient to make them intelligible even to beginners.

The second chapter treats of the simple combustibles; and first of sulphur; which gives Dr. Thomson an opportunity of briefly explaining the theories of combustion proposed by Stahl and Lavoisier. The other sections treat of phosphorus, carbon, and hydrogen. Carbon is here synonymous with diamond; of course, Lavoisier's carbon becomes carbonous oxide, or charcoal. But, throughout the whole work, Dr. Thomson has neglected to attend to this distinction; and consequently, in the very next chapter we are presented with a pretty full account of the carbureted hydrogen gases, chiefly taken from the experiments of Mr. Cruickshank; although we think that neither their ingenious contriver nor Dr. Thomson has drawn from them the conclusions they warranted. For example, in the third experiment, 16 grains of carburetted hydrogen were detonated with 40 of oxygen; the products were 36 grains of carbonic acid gas, and 20 of water. Now, 36 grains of carbonic acid gas are composed of 29.56 oxygen, and 6.44 carbon; and 20 of water of 17.12 oxygen, and 2.88 hydrogen. From the total quantity of oxygen in the product, 46.68, deduct the 40 added, and we have 6.68 oxygen, 2.88 hydrogen, and 6.44 carbon, as the elementary constituents of the 16 grains of carbureted hydrogen.

The following table exhibits a view of the constituents of all the species calculated in this way, and as given by Dr. Thomson.

	Oxygen.	*Carbon.*	*Hydrogen.*	*Water.*	
Carb. hyd. from stagnant water, &c.	35.54 +	46.40 +	18.06		
		52.35 +	9.60 +	38.05	Dr. T.
From ether - - - -	35.02 +	45.15 +	19.83		
		45 +	15 +	40	Dr. T.
From alcohol - - -	41.76 +	40.23 +	16.01		
		44.1 +	11.8 +	44.1	Dr. T.
From wet charcoal -	58.77 +	23.43 +	17.80		
		28 +	9 +	63	Dr. T.

These differences arise from two causes. Mr. Cruickshank did not calculate the constituents of the carbonic acid produced according to its analysis by Morveau; and he supposed that the whole water produced existed in the gas in a state of solution. But it is highly improbable that any gas is capable of dissolving its own weight of water; and as the carbonic acid gas produced must be saturated with vapour, it is, on the contrary, probable, that the whole water precipitated was formed at the moment of decomposition. We therefore think ourselves warranted to conclude, that these gases are not carbureted hydrogen, holding their own weight of water in solution, but that they are hydrocarbonous oxides, and therefore should be referred to a different place in Dr. Thomson's arrangement from that which is now assigned them.

The chapter on Combustibles is concluded, as indeed all the chapters are, with some general reflections. The next chapter treats of the Simple Incombustibles, in which the association of azote and muriatic acid as analogous bodies, is the only thing remarkable. An account of the metals concludes the simple confinable bodies.

The second division of the simple bodies comprehends those which Dr. Thomson has denominated *unconfinable*. In this work, he only treats of light and caloric; but we are happy to learn, that an author, so capable of doing justice to the subject, proposes to consider electricity in a separate work. The chapter on Light is exceedingly well written. That on Caloric, is perhaps the most remarkable in the whole work, from the very curious speculations which it contains.

Caloric passes through some bodies with the velocity of light, and through others extremely slowly. Its motion in the first case in which it is said to be transmitted, is explained by supposing the particles of caloric to repel each other; but the explanation of its second kind of motion is not so easy. It has hitherto been considered as the operation of a positive force, which has been called the conducting power; and bodies were named good or bad conductors, in proportion as caloric moved through them with greater or less facility. Dr. Thomson has, however, advanced an hypothesis directly the reverse of this; for, observing that caloric is transmitted through some bodies with immense velocity, he has seen the necessity of accounting for the retardation of its progress when it enters conductors. This he ascribes to an attraction or affinity existing between the particles of caloric and those of the conductor, by which the caloric is entangled and detained; so that bodies which were called bad conductors, are in fact good retarders; and the con-

ducting power is a mere nonentity. This opinion might have appeared extremely ingenious to a chemist ignorant of the principles of mechanical science. But surely, if Dr. Thomson, who so often makes use of algebraic expressions to render unintelligible to many of his readers what, in common language, could have been mistaken by no one, had allowed himself time for reflection, he never would have committed an error which has betrayed him into so many inconsistencies. He has himself proved that affinity is capable of accounting for the motion of caloric through conductors; it cannot therefore retard the motion which caloric is supposed to derive from its repulsive force, unless it acts in an opposite direction: but in the case of conducting bodies, the affinity always acts in the same direction with the repulsive force; and, instead of retarding the progress of caloric, it ought therefore to accelerate it. But some bodies conduct caloric better than others; and Dr. Thomson thinks it 'probable that their affinity is in all cases in the inverse ratio of their conducting power.' The originality of this opinion is truly singular; for no common mind would have conceived that an effect could be *inversely* as its cause. Bodies also differ in the distance to which they are capable of conducting caloric; and this difference, Dr. Thomson tells us, 'is always proportional to the temperature to which that body can be raised before it changes its state.' The reasoning upon which this opinion is hazarded, is perfectly inconclusive; for it proceeds on the supposition, not only that the decreasing series of affinities for additional doses of caloric, is the same in all bodies, but also that the conducting power depends *entirely* on affinity. Now, the first supposition is altogether arbitrary, and the second absolutely erroneous. Dr. Thomson's general law is equally contradicted by experiment; for lead, tin, and the other fusible metals, conduct caloric much farther than glass; and that most refractory substance, pure clay, cannot be made, by any intensity of heat, to conduct caloric farther than fusible metals.

All solids *conduct* caloric; but fluids also *carry* it. Count Rumford was the first who paid particular attention to this subject; and endeavoured to prove, by the most ingenious experiments, that fluids only carry caloric, and never conduct it. This opinion of the Count, however, is now completely disproved, especially by the experiments of Mr. Murray. On this subject, Dr. Thomson has entered at more than usual length, and has divided, between himself and Mr. Dalton, the merit of having been the first who, by various experiments, rendered the Count's opinion improbable; although it is inconceivable that he should be ignorant of being anticipated by Dr. Hope, whose in-

genious experiments on the same subject were publicly exhibited in his lectures.

The tables of the conducting power of different bodies are extremely imperfect, and are constructed upon no uniform principle. For example, M. Meyer's table is given, without any explanation, immediately after Dr. Ingenhouz's; although the experiments of the latter showed the comparative *length* of wax-coating, which cylinders of different metals melted when their extremities were plunged in boiling water, and, those of the former, the *times* which equal spheres of wood took to cool the same number of degrees, from which the conducting powers were calculated, on the hypothetical supposition that they were inversely as the times of cooling. Dr. Thomson has also determined the conducting power of some fluids from his own experiments; but his statements can be of no use, until we know the *data* on which they are founded. He has, however, erroneously calculated the affinity of these bodies for caloric, from these observations on their powers of conducting it.

The next section is on the Equal Distribution of Temperature. Some bodies cool much more quickly than others; and Dr. Thomson tells us, 'that, in general, other things being the same, the rate of cooling may be considered as nearly inversely as the conducting power of fluids.' But he before attempted to prove, that the affinity was inversely as the conducting power; so that the rate of cooling should be *directly* as the affinity, or, in other words, those bodies which have the strongest affinity for caloric, should part with it most readily! The equilibrium of temperature is principally produced by the repulsive force of the particles of caloric, which always tends to separate them, until it be counterbalanced by an equal pressure in the opposite direction. That affinity has also some share in this process, seems to be proved, by the rate of cooling being slower *in vacuo* than in air. But if the effects of this cause were very considerable, bodies should heat quickly and cool slowly, in proportion to their affinity, which, as far as we know, is not the case.

The next section treats of the Effects of Heat, the first of which, Expansion, is well explained according to the original and interesting ideas of Mr. Dalton. In his observations on the caloric of fluidity, we meet with another instance of our author's rashness in drawing general conclusions. In all Dr. Irvine's experiments on this subject, he sees 'this rule to hold, that the caloric of fluidity increases with the temperature at which liquidity takes place.' Dr. Thomson has evidently been induced to draw this conclusion, by imagining that Dr. Irvine's numbers expressed the caloric of fluidity of the substances which he exam-

ined; whereas they only express the number of degrees by which the temperature of these bodies respectively would have been raised by the quantity of heat absorbed during their liquefaction. For example, during the liquefaction of ice, as much caloric is absorbed as would have increased its temperature 140°; and during that of tin, as much as would have increased its temperature 500°; but the specific caloric of ice is to that of tin as 9000 to 661; therefore, the caloric which is absorbed during the melting of tin, would only have increased the temperature of ice 36.72°, while that absorbed by ice would have increased the temperature of tin 1906°; whence it follows, that the caloric of fluidity of ice is 3.81 times as much as that of tin; or, taking that of ice as a standard, as 1 to 0.262, and not at all proportionate to their melting point.

The next subject treated of is the Capacity for Heat, or specific caloric, of bodies; on which our author, as usual, attempts to reason profoundly, and to point out some great general law which has escaped the observation of all former philosophers. Unfortunately, however, his whole reasoning is built upon erroneous *data;* and his law is inconsistent with fact. The experiment, by means of which he explains what is meant by specific caloric, he has most unaccountably misstated; for he tells us, that the caloric which raises the temperature of water 1°, will raise that of the same *weight* of mercury 3.16°. Now, Crawford tells us, that the caloric which heats water 1°, heats mercury no less than 28°. At first, we thought Dr. Thomson had fallen into this important error, by inadvertently substituting equal weights for equal bulks: But even this will not answer; for the caloric which heats water 1°, heats an equal *bulk* of mercury only 1.5°. From whatever cause this misstatement may have arisen, it certainly cannot be ascribed to an error of the press; for it is the basis of a great deal of the succeeding reasoning.

Because scarcely any two metals, when converted into oxides, combine with precisely the same quantity of oxygen, Dr. Thomson somehow concludes (vol. I. p. 394.), that the difference of specific caloric in bodies must therefore depend upon the affinity which exists between bodies and caloric; and thinks it probable, that the specific caloric of bodies is always proportional to their affinity for caloric, and inversely as their conducting power. This conclusion our author esteems of considerable importance, not only because it simplifies the theory of the combinations of caloric with bodies, but because it enables us to determine the conducting power of bodies from their specific caloric, or the contrary. He is, however, sufficiently modest to acknowledge that a set of experiments would be necessary to establish it completely. But,

in those substances which he has examined, he finds the difference between the conducting power, as ascertained by experiment and by theory, less than could be imagined. In proof of which, he presents us with the following table.

Bodies.	*Specific Caloric.*	*Conducting Power* by *Theory.*	by *Experiment.*	*Difference.*
Water - - - - - -	1.	1.	1.	0
Mercury - - - - -	0.31	3.22	4.600	+ 1.38
Linseed oil - - - -	0.9403	1.06	1.085	+ 0.02

A more erroneous table was perhaps never presented to the public. Of the three substances which it contains, the first is the only one whose corresponding numbers are right. Of the other eight numbers, seven are wrong:—one, we are persuaded, in consequence of a typographical error; four from being calculated on erroneous *data;* and the last two, the most important in the whole table, from misstatement. The specific caloric of mercury is set down as ten times greater than it should be; while, in the case of linseed oil, we actually find its specific *gravity* substituted instead of its caloric.* When these inexcusable errors are corrected, Dr. Thomson will have little reason to boast of the coincidence between his theoretical and experimental estimation of conducting powers.

Bodies.	*Specific Caloric.*	*Conducting Power* by *Theory.*	by *Experiment.*	*Difference.*
Water - - - - - -	1.	1.	1.	0
Mercury - - - - -	0.031	32.26	4.800	—27.49
Linseed oil - - - -	0.528	1.894	1.085	— .809

In the general table of specific calorics, there are many errors not merely typographical, such as the remarkable one of mercury, but arising from Dr. Thomson inserting the *mean* of the observations of different experiments, made in very different ways, instead of selecting that which appeared to be derived from the justest principles, and most accurate experiments.

In treating of the absolute quantity of caloric in bodies, Dr. Thomson examines, and endeavours to refute, the hypothesis of Dr. Irvine and of Mr. Dalton. The futility of his objections to the former, was so completely exposed by Mr. Irvine, in Nicholson's Journal, Vol. V. p. 25, that we are astonished to see them

* This has probably happened in consequence of Dr. Thomson following his own directions of inspecting his general table for the specific caloric, and stumbling upon the wrong column.

retain their place in this new edition: and his observations on the latter are equally inconclusive.

On the subject of Cold, Dr. Thomson quotes Pictet's celebrated experiment of its apparent radiation, as the only fact which gives any countenance to the opinion, that cold is a body. But although Prevost's explanation of this phenomenon is, as Dr. Thomson justly observes, unsatisfactory, we see nothing in it but an example of the radiation of caloric. If we had room in this place for such a discussion, we think it would not be difficult to show, from what is now established as to the radiation and reflection of heat, that the sinking of the thermometer in M. Pictet's experiment, is to be imputed entirely to the subtraction of caloric occasioned by the introduction of a cold body; and that, in consequence of the intercepting and reflecting powers of the mirrors, this caloric is drawn in larger quantities from the focus where the thermometer is placed, than from any other point in the circumference. The heat which flows into the cold body is radiated in part from the surface of the nearest mirror, and the heat thus drawn from its surface is supplied again by parallel rays reflected from the surface of the opposite one, the whole of which will be found, from the angle of their reflection, to proceed from that focal point in which the thermometer is situated. There is a greater drain upon the caloric of that focus, therefore, than upon any other point in the circumference; and its temperature is lowered proportionally. This explanation, perhaps, is too concise to be satisfactory; but we are persuaded that all the facts may be accounted for by the radiation of caloric, and that the apparatus merely determines the point from which the radiation is to begin. The curious fact discovered by Mr. Dalton, that the expansion of water is the same for any number of degrees above or below 42.5, is a much stronger argument for believing that cold is a body, and, if the same law obtained in all other bodies, would be almost unanswerable.

The Sources of Caloric form the next subject of consideration. Of these, Combustion is treated in a masterly manner. In the history of its theory, the opinions of others are fairly and candidly stated; while, in the account of that hypothesis which is adopted by our author, he allows their full share of merit to the German philosophers who advanced it, and states his own opinions, which are very ingenious, with a degree of modesty and philosophical doubt which are extremely honourable to him.

The heat produced by percussion, is ascribed entirely to condensation. This unquestionably is a source of heat, but appears totally insufficient to account for the great increase of tempera-

ture produced by percussion. Iron is easily heated to redness by hammering, yet it only suffers a condensation of $\frac{1}{1\,5\,7}$. Air, condensed to $\frac{1}{2}$, scarcely raises the most delicate thermometer a few degrees. Mr. Dalton shews indeed, by calculation, that the real increase of temperature is 50°; but this would be very trifling in proportion to the caloric given out by hammering iron, if we were to estimate what is wasted during the operation. The brittleness of iron hammered to redness, was ascribed by Dr. Black to the deficiency of the caloric thus expressed from it; and upon this hint, Dr. Thomson, filled with the philosophic spirit of generalization, at once perceives, that 'brittleness seems *in most cases* owing to the absence of the usual quantity of caloric;' and refers, for the illustration of his opinion, to the phenomena of unannealed glass. But he has not only failed altogether in proving that glass, cooled quickly, contains at the same temperature less caloric than glass cooled slowly, but, in a subsequent part of his work, he has, with more truth, ascribed the brittleness in the former case to its unequal contraction.

It is undoubtedly true, that water constitutes a part of almost all mixtures in which a change of temperature takes place; but our author certainly goes much too far in stating it to be essential; for besides the mixture of gases which he mentions as the only apparent exception to this rule, there is an extrication of heat and light when sulphur acts upon the metals, and probably in many other instances. Water, indeed, is no more essential to the production of heat from mixture, than it is to chemical action in general.

Having concluded the subject of caloric, our author subjoins some observations on simple bodies in general, which are only remarkable for the ingenuity with which he moulds nature to suit his particular opinions, by first limiting the simple substances to those concerned in combustion, and then sagaciously observing, that oxygen is capable of uniting with all simple confinable bodies.

We are now come to our author's Compound Substances; but, from the very great extent of the work before us, and the immense variety of subjects which it embraces, it would far exceed our limits to notice the whole of these in the manner they deserve; and as their arrangement has been already pretty fully explained, we shall confine ourselves to a few cursory observations. In justice to our author, however, we must not omit to mention that they will principally regard his own opinions, when they appear to us erroneous or doubtful. Whatever we pass over in silence, is at least good; often excellent. In the account of the composition of water, some errors have crept into his calculation, which

differs from the statement given under hydrogen. As an accurate knowledge of the constituents of water is of great importance in analysis, and as the calculations have not been revised since the real constituents of carbonic acid have been discovered, we have corrected them from the original *data*. The quantity of gases employed were,

Hydrogen -	25980.563	French cubic inches.
Oxygen - -	13475.198	
Atmospheric air	15.	

The products of the combustion were,

Azote - -	467	Cubic inches.
Carbonic acid	39	
Oxygen -	465	
Hydrogen -	16	

Water - 7245 French grains.

The carbonic acid was produced from a small quantity of carbon dissolved in the hydrogen. It weighed 26.9 grains, and contained 22.09 oxygen, and 4.81 carbon. From the hydrogen employed, the 16 inches in the residuum must be deducted; and the remainder, 25964.563, multiplied by its weight per inch 0.040452, gives 1050.32 grains; from which, the 4.81 of carbon, being deducted, leaves 1045.51 grains as the real weight of hydrogen consumed. But the oxygen contained 404.256 cubic inches of azote mixed with it; which, with 465 of oxygen found in the residuum, being deducted, and the 4 contained in the 15. atmospheric air being added, gives 12609.942 of oxygen. This, multiplied by its weight per inch 0.493986, gives 6229.33 grains; from which the 22.09 expended in the formation of carbonic acid, being deducted, leaves 6207.24 oxygen. There were therefore consumed,

	French grains.		*Troy grains.*		*Decimals.*
Hydrogen	1045.51	=	857.736	=	14.42
Oxygen	6207.24	=	5092.420	=	85.58
	7252.75		5950.156		100

which is but 7.75 French grains, or 6.36 Troy, more than the water obtained.

That important class of bodies, the Acids, are divided by our author into products, supporters, and combustible acids; a division, which is of some use in our general views of the subject, but, on the other hand, would become inconvenient if strictly followed in the detail. To this chapter some observations on the acid principle are prefixed, in which our author endeavours to shew that oxygen is not an essential constituent of acids. But we think

the matter still doubtful; for, besides the three undecompounded acids, the only others in which Dr. Thomson has denied the presence of oxygen, are, the prussic acid and sulphureted hydrogen. Now, the former certainly contains oxygen; for if Vauquelin's experiments were not of themselves sufficient to prove it an *oxide* of carbon, charcoal is admitted to be one of its constituents; and our acquaintance with the composition of the latter is certainly not enough to allow us to assert that it contains no oxygen.*

The class of compound combustibles is exceedingly deficient. It ought to have contained the greater part of animal and vegetable substances; and our author's reasons for excluding them are most unsatisfactory—'They are too little known, and their utility as chemical instruments is too inconsiderable!' A system of chemistry ought to be complete in its arrangement, and totally independent of any essays on meteorology, mineralogy, or physiology. These form, it is true, beautiful applications of the science, and they cannot be understood without it; but they have no more pretensions, than the chemical arts and other useful applications, to be forced in as essential parts of a system of chemistry. To the chemist, each individual substance is the same, from whatever kingdom of nature it may be derived, and to whatever purpose it may be applicable.

Our author gives an erroneous idea of the composition of fixed oil, in asserting it to consist of carbon and hydrogen only. It is a compound oxide. Lavoisier's analysis, by burning oil with oxygen gas, gives the following results.

Employed.			*Products.*
Olive oil	15.79	Carbonic acid	44.50
Oxygen	50.86	Water	22.15
	66.65		66.65

Now, the elementary constituents of these are,

Carbon.	*Oxygen.*	*Hydrogen.*	
7.9566,	36.5434,	—	in the acid.
	18.95597,	3.19403	in the water.
	55.49937		

From which — 50.86 employed in the combustion being deducted, 4.63937 are left, which, with the carbon

* In the Appendix, we find our opinion confirmed by Dr. Thomson himself, who, speaking of an oxide of sulphur he has discovered containing 6.2 per cent. oxygen, says, 'I have since found reason to be-

and hydrogen, exactly amount to the 15.79 grains of oil burnt. Therefore the constituents of oil are,

Carbon	50.39	And not 79.	Carbon
Hydrogen	20.225	21.	Hydrogen
Oxygen	29.385		
	100		100 of Dr. Thomson.

The analysis, given by our author, is that of Lavoisier; but Lavoisier was unacquainted with pure carbon, and gave that designation to charcoal, which is an oxide of carbon. Therefore, in speaking of Lavoisier's carbon, Dr. Thomson should have always distinguished it by the appellation of charcoal, and in all analyses have remembered that it was an oxide, which he has seldom, if ever, done. His negligence in this respect is the more inexcusable, as, by using one term to express two very different substances, he has often both misled himself, and rendered his statements ambiguous to others. These observations apply still more strongly to his account of the composition of wax and alcohol, because he has founded on the presence of oxygen in these substances, as demonstrated by various experiments, to prove that the experiments of Lovoisier, from which that philosopher concluded that the former consisted of carbon and hydrogen, and the latter of carbon, hydrogen and water, are not to be depended on. Unexceptionable they are not; but, for the present state of the science, they are remarkably accurate; and until we have better *data* to go upon, we must consider them highly valuable. When the calculation from them is corrected, their composition appears to be

	Wax.	*Alcohol.*
Carbon	53.12	18.2
Hydrogen	16.91	16.76
Oxygen	29.97	65.04
	100	100

Whether any of the hydrogen and oxygen existed combined in the state of water, we have no means of ascertaining.

The Salts are the most important class of the secondary compounds. The common distribution of these into the two great families of the metalline, and earthy and alkaline salts, is properly retained; the genera of the latter being distinguished by the acid, and of the former by the metal they contain. The alkaline

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lieve that it is this oxide, and not pure sulphur, which exists in sulphureted hydrogen gas, and probably in all the hydro-sulphurets.'

and earthy salts are moreover divided by Dr. Thomson into the two orders of combustible and incombustible; but it would have been more consistent with other parts of his arrangement to have formed a third order of the detonating or supporting salts, which are at present classed with the incombustible. We may also mention, that the ammoniacal salts are all combustible, and therefore, in some instances, do not properly belong to the same order with the other species of the genera.

The genera of the metalline salts are not easily classed in different orders; but the species of each genus form several natural groups. Our author has divided them into detonating, incombustible, combustible, metallic, and triple salts. This arrangement is deficient with regard to unity; for it is formed upon *two* principles, which interfere with each other; the three first divisions being taken from the properties, and the two last from the composition of the salts. The two last indeed appear to be altogether unnecessary; for all the metallic and triple salts are either detonating, incombustible, or combustible. They form, however, very natural subdivisions of these groups. The salts are by far too numerous for us to enter into any examination of our author's account of them. We may only mention, that he seems to have been rather hasty, notwithstanding Chenevix's excellent experiments, in annihilating the genus of oxymuriats; for it is certain, that many of them possess the property of bleaching, which, in all probability, depends on their containing oxymuriatic acid, since neither the muriatic, nor hyper-oxymuriatic acid, destroys vegetable colours. The hydro-sulphurets and soaps are the only other secondary compounds noticed, although there are several other classes of them.

Having finished his account of the secondary compounds, Dr. Thomson proceeds, as usual, to draw some general inferences from the facts he has detailed; and, in the present instances, he seems extremely unfortunate; for not one of the four he has stated is admissible: 1. He has discovered 'a singular and remarkable correspondence between secondary compounds and simple bodies; for neither of them possess that activity, that violent action upon other bodies, which distinguish primary compounds.' This is not simply a mistake; it is a misstatement. Our author selects such substances, and places them in such circumstances, as suit his purpose, although numerous facts exist in obvious and direct opposition to his general conclusion. Does he consider combustion as a proof of the inactivity of oxygen, and of the simple combustibles? or do the oxymuriats and metalline salts appear to him examples of the inertness of secondary compounds? Nay, he himself has quoted *potass* as the extreme example of the activity of primary compounds; but until he proves potass to be a com-

pound body, it completely disproves his conclusion. 2. 'No secondary compound is gaseous.' What is etherized nitrous gas? 3. 'None of them are combustible.' Spirit varnish is not combustible! The detonating salts are not secondary compounds!! 4. 'The *secondary* compounds have been investigated with more precision than any other class of bodies; from them almost all our notions of affinity have been derived; it is to them we have always recourse to illustrate these notions,' &c. &c. But of the *primary compounds* we were also told (vol. II. p. 263.), that *they* were the 'class of bodies which have been the longest known, which have been most accurately studied, and which constitute, without doubt, the most important instruments of chemistry;' and, in the preface, it was mentioned as one of the characteristic merits of our author's arrangement, that it begins with those parts which have been most successfully investigated. But this kind of inconsistency is of very little consequence, if it at all promote our author's view of exciting the attention of his readers, by exaggerating the importance of every subject which successively engages them.

Having collected the immense mass of facts contained in the two first books, our author now proceeds to treat, in the third, of those general laws by which the whole are regulated. Our imperfect knowledge of these, is ascribed by him partly to the unaccountable negligence of the greater number of chemists, 'who have been more anxious to ascertain particular facts, than to investigate general principles, and who have often seemed to look upon general principles as altogether foreign to their science.' There may be some truth in this observation; but, such an opinion, coming from so high an authority, may be attended with very bad consequences, in misleading young men to waste their time and labour on idle speculations, and to despise the less brilliant, but more substantial reputation, of increasing our store of facts. For our part, we are persuaded that even Dr. Thomson himself, notwithstanding the extent of his knowledge and the universality of his talents, has done infinitely more service to chemistry by his industry as a compiler, and his assiduity in observing the results of mixtures, undirected by general views, than by all his attempts at generalization.

The first chapter of this book is said to treat of Affinity in general. Many chemists dislike the term *affinity* altogether; but with Dr. Robison we think it is of use, as 'it distinguishes very compendiously the phenomena of combination (which are the chief objects of chemistry) from the phenomena of cohesion, adhesion, capillary attraction,' &c. In this limited sense alone, as synonymous with chemical attraction, and in contradistinction to cohesion and the other species of attraction, has it been hitherto

employed. By Dr. Thomson, however, it is arbitrarily, and we think, injudiciously extended to include, as a generic term, every species of contiguous attraction, and to comprehend those very forces from which it was invented—to discriminate that attraction which is properly chemical. The necessary consequence of this innovation is not only embarrassment to Dr. Thomson's readers, but real ambiguity and confusion in his writings, where it is sometimes employed in the limited, and sometimes in the extended signification. Adhesion and cohesion are classed together, as 'homogeneous affinities,' while chemical attraction is distinguished by the phrase 'heterogeneous affinity.' But these innovations are at variance with fact; for heterogeneous bodies adhere, and, if we mistake not, cohere also, as in some compound stones, Since, therefore, heterogeneous bodies attract each other, independently of combination, heterogeneous affinity is an inaccurate expression for chemical attraction.

Contiguous attraction is said by our author to resemble sensible attraction, in increasing with the mass of the attracting bodies, and diminishing as the distance increases. Of this, however, he is able to adduce no proof; and the resemblance must be therefore considered as merely hypothetical. Indeed, he confesses himself unable to determine, whether contiguous, like sensible attraction, decreases in the ratio $\frac{1}{d^2}$, or in a greater ratio; but if it be at all proportionate to distance, it must follow a much greater ratio; for, at a distance greater than contiguity, it becomes altogether insensible, or bears no proportion to the force of gravitation; whereas, whenever it becomes sensible, it is more intense than gravitation. But the most important character of contiguous attraction is, that it varies in intensity in different particles; on which occasion, our author indulges himself in speculating, whether it be one force, or many forces; whether it be owing to the figure of the particles, or whether it be the same with gravitation; and after exerting all his ingenuity, he leaves himself and his readers just as wise as when he began. Cohesion is treated at considerable length, according to the hypothesis of Boscovich; and we are told that it is deserving of notice, that the cohesive force of simple bodies is greater than that of compounds, except in the case of the metals and elastic fluids—that is, except in 26 cases out of 29! To which list of exceptions he should have added sulphur and phosphorus, which are not so hard as most of the sulphats and phosphats: so that diamond turns out to be the only simple substance which is harder than all its compounds. Haüy's theory of crystallization is very neatly stated; but the influence of the free access of air in promoting crystallization, cannot be ex-

plained on the supposition that it carries off caloric; for, upon that supposition, crystallization should take place at the same temperature, whether the air be excluded or admitted.

We now come to the most important chapter in the whole work, that on Heterogeneous Affinity. From the arrangement adopted by our author, the expectations of his readers may reasonably be raised to the highest pitch; but we are much afraid that their disappointment will be equally great, not, however, from any inability or negligence on his part, but from the view he has taken of the subject. Instead of being satisfied with ascertaining the general laws of combination by fair induction, he has treated chemistry as a mere branch of mechanical philosophy; he has considered chemical attraction as the same force with adhesion, and as subject to the same laws; and is so completely absorbed in the attraction and repulsion of particles, that he loses all sight of what is peculiar to chemistry, and only notices its laws accidentally in the course of his more general and abstruse speculations. These, we confess, are not uninteresting, and may be acceptable to those who delight in what may be called philosophical intoxication, but appear to us extremely misplaced in an elementary work, which should be adapted to the capacity of all its readers; and, if it ever enter into such speculations, should treat them merely as of secondary importance, and matters of curiosity. Our opinion, indeed, may be the effect of prejudice; for we may be misled by the high authority of our instructors in chemistry and mechanical philosophy, the one of whom thus speaks of the manner in which the other considered this very subject: 'The worthy author of these lectures was always more anxious to communicate what may be called a clear and confident knowledge of the doctrines of pure chemistry, than to lead his pupils into abstruse or refined speculations on the unseen and unknown immediate causes of chemical combination. He considered every such question as rather out of the pale of chemical science; and so it certainly is. Whenever we speculate about the attractions and repulsions of particles, as the immediate agents in effecting the chemical changes, we are no longer chemists, but mechanicians. We are considering questions about local motion, and the mathematical determinations of the effects of moving forces. Not only is the occupation not chemical, but the questions themselves give little addition of chemical knowledge.'*

Dr. Thomson, however, thinks otherwise; and it is our duty to follow him in his speculations; the first of which is, that he considers it very probable, that there exists a reciprocal affinity between every species of the particles of bodies. But

* Black's Lectures, by Professor Robison, vol. I. p. 512.

his proofs of its existence in those numberless cases where it is commonly denied, are very unsatisfactory. For, the solution of soap in water, and lime in nitric acid, certainly do not prove that oil has any affinity for water, or lime for azote. In this last case, as well as in many others, a substance is found to have a strong affinity for a compound, which, in every circumstance, refuses to unite with either of its constituents; while, on the contrary, there are also numerous examples of substances refusing to unite with a compound, which have a strong affinity for its constituents. But this change of property, which is the strongest character of chemical action, seems to be totally overlooked by our author in all his reasonings about affinity. Bodies are in general believed to differ in the intensity of their affinity for each other; and M. Berthollet has lately shown, that this is much modified by their comparative masses. But it by no means follows from the nature of affinity, that if a particle A attract B with a force $= x$, that two particles A ought to attract B with a force at least $= y > x$; for B may unite with one particle A, and form a compound C, which has no affinity for a second particle A. The same argument is equally conclusive against the opinion supported by our author—that difference of intensity of affinity is insufficient to account for decomposition, unless some other force, such as elasticity or cohesion, intervene to determine the exclusion of some particular bodies. Indeed, if this opinion be true, when compound bodies unite, the combination does not take place between them as compounds, but amongst the elementary particles of which they are composed; and no such thing as a secondary compound can exist. Saturation is sufficiently well defined—the balancing of affinity with its antagonist forces, cohesion and elasticity. It is owing to this that the freezing point of water is lowered when it holds some bodies in solution. But our author carries his reasoning rather a little too far, when he concludes that a table of the freezing points of different saline solutions would be a pretty accurate indication of the affinity of the different salts for water. On this principle, how will he account for the fact, that sulphuric acid, combined with a certain proportion of water, actually raises its freezing point, but with a larger quantity lowers it considerably? And as the same reasoning ought to apply to vaporization, how comes the boiling point of some saline solutions to be lower than that of water? Neutralization takes place, when bodies unite in such proportions that they mutually destroy or disguise the properties of each other. In this state, our author supposes their combination to be as perfect as possible, and that their affinities are equal, that is, that the affinity of A for B is equal to that of B for A. He next proceeds to demonstrate,

that, in all combinations, there is a *maximum* and *minimum* in the proportions of the constituents, beyond which they can never pass; but he cannot determine whether they are capable of combining in any indefinite proportion between these limits, or only in certain determinate proportions. In the latter case, therefore, with unusual caution he consults experience; and he certainly would have acted more wisely to have done the same in the former case; for his reasoning is founded on principles purely hypothetical, and leads him to conclusions directly contrary to fact—for example, that elastic bodies can only combine with each other in one proportion. Now, azotic gas combines with oxygen gas in four proportions; and the proportions of the carbonates of ammonia are the most unsteady of all the crystallizable salts. We are also told, that all compounds, of which the ingredients combine only in certain determinate proportions, have an elastic fluid for one of the ingredients; yet we have the tartrat and super-tartrat of potass, the sulphurets and super-sulphurets of the metals, &c.

We now come to the consideration of the various methods which have been proposed to express the strength of every affinity in numbers. The first that meets with our author's approbation, is that of Morveau, founded on the supposition that the affinity of bodies for each other is directly as the force necessary to overcome the adhesion of their surfaces. But, besides the impracticability of carrying it into effect, which even the ingenious suggestions of our author will not remove, it is merely hypothetical, and cannot be admitted unless it be found to coincide with fact. But a disk of glass adhered to water with a force of 258 grains, and to a solution of potass, though denser, only with a force of 210; yet water has no chemical action on glass, and a solution of potass has. From a series of hypothetical principles, Berthollet concluded, that the affinities of bodies were inversely as the mass of each body capable of neutralizing the other; and, to bring this conclusion to the test of experience, our author has calculated the affinities of the acids and bases for each other from Kirwan's last table of the salts; from which he concludes, that it is exceedingly probable that the real order of affinities does not deviate far from that given in his tables, derived from these calculations. Now, the best way of ascertaining the probability of such an hypothesis, is to compare it with the facts. Accordingly this has been very properly done by Dr. Thomson; and he finds that the affinity of the bases for the acids follow precisely the inverse order of that given by Bergman. This objection, however, is of little importance; for Bergman trusted to the clumsy mode of experiment, by ascertaining what salts decomposed each other;

and decomposition is certainly no test of the strength of affinity. The affinities of the acids follow the order which has long been recognized in the metallic salts. It is true, they are apparently different in the salts from which these tables have been calculated; but that, according to Dr. Thomson, is of no consequence, as the muriats are all more soluble than sulphats. With regard to the carbonic acid, its affinities as calculated from these tables are inconsistent with fact; but *they* must not be taken into consideration, because the composition of the carbonats is very imperfectly determined. This kind of reasoning, however, we cannot admit. The composition of the carbonats was ascertained by Kirwan as well as that of the other salts, and is equally entitled to our confidence; and although, in consequence of the action of mass, elasticity and cohesion, the order of affinity may be different from that of decomposition, it furnishes no argument to prove that Berthollet's hypothesis is more probable than the directly opposite one of Kirwan, or than any other which may be imagined by any succeeding philosopher. It is, on the contrary, in favour of Kirwan's hypothesis that it in general coincides with the order of decomposition; for the action of mass, cohesion and elasticity, may enable him to explain the few apparent exceptions. But Berthollet, although he were to succeed in the more arduous task of proving that the order of decomposition is in almost every instance wrong, has not advanced one step in establishing the probability of that which he has adopted. Now, besides the affinities of carbonic acid, there are others, derived from his hypothesis, which cannot be accounted for. For example, the affinity of lime to sulphuric acid is stated to be stronger than that of potass or soda, and its affinity to nitrous and to muriatic acid weaker than that of magnesia: the affinity of muriatic acid, again, to soda, is stated to be nearly twice as strong as that of sulphuric acid: which are all contrary to the order of decomposition, and opposed also, in these instances, by the action of cohesion. Berthollet's hypothesis, therefore, appears to us inconsistent with fact. Another way of examining the validity of any hypothesis of this nature, is to carry them as far as they will go, and see to what conclusions they will lead. Now, if the principles of either Kirwan or Berthollet were true, the affinities of bases for all acids, and of acids for all bases, should follow the same ratio; which is also contrary to fact. These speculations, therefore, do not seem to have increased our knowledge of the comparative affinities of bodies; and we must still resort to the humble and tedious method of experiment to ascertain them.

The next subject treated of, is Compound Affinity, concerning which we find nothing very remarkable. It does not appear to us

by any means certain, that saline solutions, which may be mixed without precipitation, combine; for example, that when solutions of sulphat of potass and muriat of soda are mixed, these compound salts do not remain entire, but that a solution is formed, containing sulphuric acid, muriatic acid, potass and lime, uniformly combined; for, upon the same principle, there should be no secondary compounds, and the phenomena of chemistry should be different from what they really are. The effect of the insolubility of salts, as explained by Berthollet, is true to a certain extent; but it is not without exceptions. In the tables of affinity for nitric and muriatic acid, calculated on his own principles, strontian is placed below soda and potass, although the salts of strontian are the most soluble. The last chapter is on Repulsion; and it might have been entirely omitted, without any injury to the book as a system of chemistry. To most of his readers, it will be totally unintelligible, and by many it will be esteemed as a wonderful effort of learning and ingenuity.

Notwithstanding the great length of these observations, a volume and a half still remain to be noticed, containing the second part of the work, entitled the Chemical Examination of Nature. It will not, however, detain us long; as we consider by far the greatest part of what is here collected under this title, as misplaced in a system of chemistry; and the remainder is merely the application of the knowledge contained in the former part, to the examination of nature. The means of analyzing the atmosphere, mineral waters, minerals, and animal and vegetable substances into their immediate principles, and the investigation of whatever chemical changes they undergo, belong properly to chemistry, and would have formed a very natural sequel to a general system of the science; while the greater part of the meteorology, mineralogy and physiology belong to other departments.

The account of the atmosphere is in general well executed; but Dr. Thomson has committed an error in his calculation of the proportion of weight of its constituents. From his own data, instead of 74 azotic gas and 26 oxygen, the results are 75.12 and 24.88; but he has supposed the relative specific gravity of oxygen gas to that of azotic gas to be as 135:115, whereas they are as 1356:1189: the real results are 75.67 azotic gas, and 24.33 oxygen. Our author differs from Mr. Dalton in believing atmospheric air to be a chemical compound. Only one of his arguments, however, appears to us to be relevant, viz. that derived from the experiments by which Humboldt and Morozzo endeavoured to establish a difference of properties between atmospherical air and an artificial mixture of its constituents, though the result was owing to an excess of oxygen in their mixture. In speaking of the comparative merits of the muriatic and nitric acid fumes in destroying

contagion, Dr. Thomson certainly does not speak from experience, when he prefers the former, not only on account of their superior efficacy, but also because the latter are attended with inconvenience, from being almost always contaminated with nitrous gas. To what inconvenience he alludes, we know not; but it is certain that the nitric acid fumes, diffused according to Dr. C. Smyth's directions, do not render the removal of the patients during the fumigation at all necessary, which the muriatic acid gases do.

Mineralogy, we are told, is 'that branch of chemistry which treats of Minerals;' and in conformity with this opinion, Dr. Thomson has filled almost a volume of his work with this subject. But Mineralogy is certainly a branch of Natural history, which is as intimately connected with the physical as with the chemical properties of its objects. If Dr. Thomson believed himself qualified to write a better system of mineralogy than any of those we possess, it would have been highly acceptable as a separate publication; but we think that, by introducing it in this work, he has unnecessarily increased its expence. In compiling it, our author is principally indebted to Haüy and Brochant. In the arrangement, indeed, he seems to think he possesses considerable merit, though we cannot perceive upon what grounds. The principle is taken from Bergman; and in its application, Dr. Thomson deviates from it almost as frequently as he adheres to it. In other systems, minerals have been classed in genera, according to the nature of the earth from which they derive their characteristic properties; and from this characteristic earth the genera have received their names. Dr. Thomson classes them in genera according to the proportions of their constituents, and gives them symbolic names, formed by arranging the first letter of every substance which enters in any considerable quantity into their composition, in the order of their proportions. Now, it appears to us, that every argument which Dr. Thomson adduces against the common arrangement, applies as forcibly against this, and that it is attended with other insurmountable inconveniences. Before any specimen can be arranged, it must not only be analyzed, but its analysis must be perfect; and even if analysis were as easy as it is difficult, it would often oblige us to place different specimens of the same mineral in different parts of the system. To prove the truth of this opinion, we need only examine a few of Dr. Thomson's genera. The first is entitled A, which, according to his principles, are minerals consisting entirely of alumina. It contains two species; the first, Diaspore, contains also 17 water, and 3 oxide of iron, and should therefore be designated by the symbol A W, if not A W I; the second, Native Alumina, contains only 45 alumina, 27 water, and 24 sulphat of lime—its symbol is therefore

A W L, or, as Dr. Thomson overlooks salts, A W. The second genus is A S. The first species, Corundum, contains the oriental ruby and sapphire, correctly placed here according to M. Chenevix's analysis; but, according to Mr. Klaproth's, sapphire belongs to A, of the imperfect corundums; that from China, as well as Emery, belong to A I S, as the quantity of iron exceeds that of silica. The second species, Chrysoberyl, contains 6. of lime, and therefore belongs to A S L. The third, the Topaz, is right, as well as the Fibrolite, also numbered the third by mistake, and the fourth Sommite. The third genus is A M. The first species, Spinel Ruby, belongs, by Vauquelin's analysis, to A M C, and by Klaproth's to A S M; and the second, the Ceylanite, to A I M. From these three first genera our readers will be able to judge of the others. In this edition, a chapter is added on Compound Minerals, translated from Brochant; and the last chapter treats of the Analysis of Minerals.

The fourth book treats of Vegetables; and the fifth, which concludes the work, of Animals. No part of the work has undergone so many alterations in this edition as the chapter which treats of the ingredients of vegetables. The author's ideas on the importance of this subject seem to have undergone a very great change, and to this change of opinion his readers are indebted for much very valuable information; for, instead of 60 pages, it now occupies 160; although there is very little of it, except what is derived from his own experiments, which was not known to pharmaceutists when the former edition was published. But vegetable chemistry has become fashionable, and Dr. Thomson has applied to it with very great success, in his experiments on gum, sarcocol, and the bitter principle.

An appendix is added, containing those discoveries of importance which were made during the printing of the work; and we are sorry that we must conclude our analysis, by lamenting that the index is not more copious.

Dr. Thomson has, in general, adopted M. Chenevix's nomenclature; but we have occasionally observed deviations inconsistent with it, as tannat and other *ats* for combinations of substances which are not acid. These, however, we believe to be accidental.

Dr. Thomson's method of distinguishing the degrees of oxidation in the metallic oxides, by prefixing the first syllable of the Greek ordinal numbers to the word oxide, as prot-oxide, deut-oxide, &c. and the *maximum* of oxidation by per-oxide, we think is an improvement. On the other hand, we trust that our author's example will induce no one to follow him in distinguishing those metalline salts which contain the metal in the state of

per oxide, by prefixing the particle *oxy* to the name of the acid, as that form of expression has already another much more natural meaning. 'Capacity for Caloric,' is also used by Dr. Thomson to express the quantity of caloric in equal bulks of bodies, although it has hitherto always had a reference to equal weights. Our author seems also to have a very great dislike to superfluous letters, not only in the names of substances, but also in those of the German chemists; but Hermstad, Humbolt, Westrum, &c. will appear to a German eye as awkwardly exotic as Tomson would do to our author's.

The references to authorities with which this work abounds, are extremely valuable; and, in general, Dr. Thomson gives a due degree of credit to the discoverers of particular facts; and if in some instances, through ignorance or inadvertence, the real discoverer is not mentioned, in others his praise almost amounts to flattery. For example his gratitude to that excellent chemist Mr. Hatchett, for having communicated to him his unpublished experiments on resins, has led him to exaggerate their importance to a degree that we conceive must be displeasing to that gentleman's modesty, especially as most of the facts, which Dr. Thomson seizes every possible opportunity of announcing as Mr. Hatchett's discoveries, were previously known. His general statement is in the following words: 'Hitherto it has been affirmed by all chemists, ancient and modern, that the alkalies do not exert any action on resins. Fourcroy, for instance, in his last work, affirms this in the most positive manner; but the experiments of Mr. Hatchett have demonstrated this opinion to be completely erroneous.' And after stating the experiments, he proceeds, 'Nothing can afford a more striking proof, than this, of the necessity of repeating the experiments of our predecessors before we put implicit confidence in their assertions. The well-known fact, that the soap-makers in this country constantly mix rosin with their soap; that it owes its yellow colour, its odour, and *its easy solubility in water to this addition*, (?) ought to have led chemists to have suspected the solubility of resins in the alkalies. No such consequence, however, was drawn from this notorious fact.' In opposition to all this, we shall quote only one modern chemist, Gren, who expressly says that 'the resins also form, with the caustic alkalies, soapy combinations.' Again, 'It has been supposed also,' says Dr. Thomson, 'that the acids are incapable of acting upon the resins; Fourcroy is equally positive with regard to this; and Gren speaks of it in such a manner that every reader must conclude that he had tried the effect of nitric acid upon resins. Yet Mr. Hatchett has ascertained this opinion likewise to be erroneous, at least as far as nitric acid is

concerned.' The following *is* the manner in which Gren speaks of it: 'Concentrated *nitric acid acts upon powdered rosin very powerfully*, and nitrous gas is evolved; but the running together of the rosin into lumps, makes its complete solution in nitric acid extremely difficult.'

To his predecessors in the laborious task of compilation, Dr. Thomson seldom makes any acknowledgement, although we think it would have been but just to have mentioned in the preface his obligations to them, especially to Fourcroy, from whom he has often borrowed largely. In some instances, an author of this description is quoted for a particular fact, although the whole passage be borrowed from him. A very flagrant example of this kind occurs in vol. iv. p. 129, when Brochant is quoted in such a manner as to make it appear that nothing but the enumeration of Werner's classes is taken from him, whereas the whole chapter, *Of compound minerals*, extending to twenty-five pages, is an abridged translation of Brochant, with the addition of three analyses by Dr. Kennedy and Mr. Klaproth, and *one* observation by the author.

Upon the whole, notwithstanding the numerous errors which we have discovered, or believe we have discovered, in this work, they are much more than counterbalanced by its general merits. The immense quantity of chemical information which it contains, is highly creditable both to the abilities and the industry of the author; and if, in a future edition, he will restrain a little his propensity to premature generalization, and free his numerical expressions from the numberless errors which now render it impossible to trust to any of his calculations with security, we have no doubt that it will continue to maintain its reputation as the best repository of chemical knowledge that has yet been offered to the public.

If any of our readers should be inclined to object, that the general tone of the preceding observations does not accord very harmoniously with this concluding eulogium, or to accuse us of having specified little more than the defects of a work of such unquestionable merit, we would beg leave to remind them, that Dr. Thomson is neither humble nor obscure enough to stand in need of recommendation or encouragement from us. The public has already done ample justice to his talents; and he is himself perfectly aware of the extent of his claims on their favour. In this situation, while it is almost unnecessary to proclaim his merits, it becomes of the greatest consequence to point out his mistakes and imperfections. Under the sanction of so great an authority, errors are propagated with a very mischievous rapidity, and the author himself is apt to become presumptuous and precipitate, when no one is to be found who will admonish him of his failures

and faults. Notwithstanding the freedom of our remarks, we doubt if any of Dr. Thomson's readers have a higher sense than we have of the value of this publication; the perusal of which we very earnestly recommend to every student of chemistry.

ART. X. *Specimens of the Early English Poets: To which is prefixed, An Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the English Poetry and Language.* By George Ellis, Esq. The Third Edition, Corrected. 3 vol. 8vo.

THE first edition of this interesting work appeared in 1790, comprising in one volume many of the most beautiful small poems which had appeared during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The plan was certainly worthy of being enlarged; and accordingly, in the second edition, published about a year ago, and rapidly disposed of, as well as in that which is now before us, it has received such considerable additions, that the work has increased to thrice the original size; and Mr. Ellis has established his claim to the character of an original author, as well as to that of a judicious collector and editor of the forgotten poems of antiquity. The first volume contains the preliminary historical sketch of the rise and progress of English poetry and language; the second and third are occupied by those specimens which give name to the whole. We shall endeavour successively to analyse the contents, and examine the merits, of these two divisions of the work.

It is obvious to every one who has studied our language, whether in prose or poetry, that a luminous history of its rise and progress must necessarily involve more curious topics of discussion than a similar work upon any other European language. This opinion has not its source in national partiality, but is dictated by the very peculiar circumstances under which the English language was formed. The other European tongues, such at least as have been adapted to the purposes of literature*, may be divided into two grand classes—those which are derived from the Teutonic, and those which are formed upon the Latin. In the former class, we find the German, the Norse, the Swedish, the Danish, and the Low-Dutch, all of which, in words and construction, are dialects of the Teutonic, and preserve the general character

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* We do not mention the dialects founded on the Celtic and Slavonic languages, because they have not been used in literary composition; nevertheless, the same observation applies to them as to the others; they have each their derivation from a single mother-root, and are not, like the English, a compounded or mingled language.

of their common source, although enriched and improved by terms of art or of science adopted from the learned languages, or from those of other kingdoms of civilized Europe. The second class comprehends the Italian, the Spanish, and the French in all its branches. It is true, the last of these has, in modern times, owing to the number of French writers in every class and upon every subject, departed farther from its original than the two others; but still the ground-work is the Latin; and the more nearly any specimen approaches to it, it may be safely concluded to be the more ancient; for, in truth, we know no other rule for ascertaining the antiquity of any particular piece in the *Romanz* language, than by its greater or slighter resemblance to the speech of the ancient Romans, from which it derives its name. Thus every language of civilized Europe is formed of a uniform pattern and texture, either upon the Teutonic, or upon the Latin. But the same chance which has peopled Britain with such a variety of tribes and nations, that we are at a loss to conceive how they should have met upon the same spot—and that, comparatively, a small one—has decreed that the language of Locke and of Shakspeare should claim no peculiar affinity to either of these grand sources of European speech; and that if, on the one hand, its conformation and construction be founded on a dialect of the Teutonic, the greater number of its vocables should, on the other, be derived from the Romanz, or corrupted Latin of the Normans. It is interesting to observe how long these languages, uncongenial in themselves, and derived from sources widely different, continued to exist separately, and to be spoken respectively by the Anglo-Norman conquerors and the vanquished Anglo-Saxons. It is still more interesting to observe how, after having long flowed each in its separate channel, they at length united and formed a middle dialect, which, though employed at first for the mere purpose of convenience and mutual intercourse betwixt the two nations, at length superseded the individual speech of both, and became the apt record of poetry and of philosophy.

The history of poetry is intimately connected with that of language. Authors in the infancy of composition, like Pope in that of life, may be said to 'lisp in numbers.' History, religion, morality, whatever tends to agitate or to sooth the passions, is, during the earlier stages of society, celebrated in verse. This may be partly owing to the ease with which poetry is retained upon the memory, in those ruder ages, when written monuments, if they at all exist, are not calculated to promote general information; and it may be partly owing to that innate love of song, and sensibility to the charms of flowing numbers, which is distinguishable even among the most savage people. But, what-

ever be the cause, the effect is most certain: the early works of all nations have been written in verse, and the history of their poetry is the history of the language itself. It therefore seems surprising, that, where the subject is interesting in a peculiar as well as in a general point of view, a distinct and connected history of our poetry, and of the language in which it is written, should so long have been a *desideratum* in English literature; and the wonder becomes greater when we recollect, that an attempt to supply the deficiency was long since made by a person who seemed to unite every quality necessary for the task.

The late Mr. Warton, with a poetical enthusiasm which converted toil into pleasure, and gilded, to himself and his readers, the dreary subjects of antiquarian lore, and with a capacity of labour apparently inconsistent with his more brilliant powers, has produced a work of great size, and partially speaking, of great interest, from the perusal of which we rise, our fancy delighted with beautiful imagery, and with the happy analysis of ancient tale and song, but certainly with very vague ideas of the history of English poetry. The error seems to lie in a total neglect of plan and system; for, delighted with every interesting topic which occurred, the historical poet pursued it to its utmost verge, without considering that these digressions, however beautiful and interesting in themselves, abstracted alike his own attention, and that of the reader, from the professed purpose of his book. Accordingly, Warton's history of English poetry has remained, and will always remain, an immense common-place book of *memoirs to serve for such a history.* No antiquary can open it, without drawing information from a mine which, though dark, is inexhaustible in its treasures; nor will he who reads merely for amusement ever shut it for lack of attaining his end; while both may probably regret the desultory excursions of an author, who wanted only system, and a more rigid attention to minute accuracy, to have perfected the great task he has left incomplete.

It is therefore with no little pleasure that we see a man of taste and talents advance to supply the deficiency in so interesting a branch of our learning; a task to which Johnson was unequal through ignorance of our poetical antiquities, and in which Warton failed, perhaps, because he was too deeply enamoured of them. This is the arduous attempt of Mr. Ellis; and it remains to inquire how he has executed it.

The elemental part of the English language, that from which it derives, not indeed the greater proportion of its words, but the rules of its grammar and construction, is the Anglo-Saxon; and Mr. Ellis has dedicated his first chapter to make the English reader acquainted with it. The example of their poetry, which he has chosen to exhibit, is the famous war song in praise of Athel-

stane's victory in the battle of Brunenburgh; an engagement which checked for ever the victorious progress of the Picts and Scots, and limited their reign to the northern part of Britain. We cannot, from this poem, nor indeed from any other remnant of Anglo-Saxon poetry, determine what were the rules of their verse. Rhime they had none; their rhythm seems to have been uncertain; and perhaps their whole poetry consisted in the adaptation of the words to some simple tune; although Mr. Ellis seems inclined to think, with Mr. Tyrwhitt, that the verse of the Saxons was only distinguished from their prose by 'a greater pomp of diction, and a more stately kind of march.' To this specimen of Saxon poetry, Mr. Ellis has subjoined a translation of it into the English of the age of Chaucer, which we recommend to our readers as one of the best executed imitations that we have ever met with. It was written by a friend of Mr. Ellis (Mr. Frere, if we mistake not) while at Eton school, and struck us with so much surprize, that we are obliged to extract a passage at the risk of interrupting our account of Mr. Ellis's plan, to justify the extent of our panegyric.

'The Mercians fought I understond,
There was gamen of the hond.
Alle that with Aulof hir way hom
Over the seas in the schippes wom,
And the five sonnes of the kynge,
Fell mid dint of sword-fightinge.
His seven erlis died also;
Mony Scottes were killed, tho
The Normannes for their mighty bost
Went home with a lytyl host.
- - - - - - - - - -
In dacie of that gaming
Mony wemen hir hondis wring.
The Normannes passed that rivere.
Mid hevy hart and sorry chere.
The brothers to Wessex yode,
Leving the crowen and the tode,
Hawkes, doggis and wolvis, tho
Eagles and mony other mo,
With the dede men for their mede.
On hir corses for to fede.
Sen the Saxonis first come
In schippes over the sea-fome,
Of the yeres that ben for gone
Greater bataile was never none.'

This appears to us an exquisite imitation of the antiquated English poetry; not depending on an accumulation of hard words,

like the language of Rowley, which, in every thing else, is refined and harmonious poetry, nor upon an agglomeration of consonants in the orthography, the resource of later and more contemptible forgers, but upon the style itself, upon its alternate strength and weakness, now nervous and concise, now diffuse and eked out by the feeble aid of expletives. In general, imitators wish to write like ancient poets, without ceasing to use modern measure and phraseology; but had the conscience of this author permitted him to palm these verses upon the public as an original production of the fourteenth century, we know no internal evidence by which the imposture could have been detected.

From considering the state of the Anglo-Saxon poetry at and previous to the Conquest, Mr. Ellis turns his consideration to that of the invaders, and treats at considerable length of what may be called the Anglo-Norman literature. It is well known, that the monarchs who immediately succeeded the conqueror, adopted his policy, in fostering the language and arts of Normandy, in opposition to those of the Anglo-Saxons, whom they oppressed, and by whom they were detested. The French poetry was not neglected; and it is now considered as an established point, that the most ancient metrical romances existing in that language were composed, not for the court of Paris, but for that of London; and hence a British story, the glories of King Arthur, became their favourite theme. The ingenious Abbé de la Rue wrote several essays, printed in the Archæologia, which throw great light upon the Anglo-Norman poets; and of this information Mr. Ellis has judiciously availed himself. But he also discovers by the explanations attached to his extracts from Wace, that intimate acquaintance with the Romanz language, which is at once so difficult to acquire, and so indispensable to the execution of his history.

In the third chapter, we see the last rays of Saxon literature, in a long extract from Layamon's translation of the *Brut* of Wace. But so little were the Saxon and Norman languages calculated to amalgamate, that though Layamon wrote in the reign of Henry II. his language is almost pure Saxon; and hence it is probable, that if the mixed language now called English at all existed, it was deemed as yet unfit for composition, and only used as a pie-bald jargon for carrying on the indispensable intercourse betwixt the Anglo-Saxons and Normans. In process of time, however, the dialect so much despised made its way into the service of the poets, and seems to have superseded the use of the Saxon, although the French, being the court language, continued to maintain its ground till a later pe-

riod. Mr. Ellis has traced this change with a heedful and discriminating eye, and has guided us through the harsh numbers of the romancers and the compilers of legends, and through the wide waste of prosaic verse, in which it was the pleasure of Robert of Gloucester and Robert de Brunne to record the history of their country, down to that period when English poetry began to assume a classical form, and to counterbalance, in the esteem even of the kings and nobles, the hitherto triumphant Anglo-Norman. This grand change was doubtless brought on by very slow degrees, and it is difficult exactly to ascertain its progress. The history of English Minstrelsy, in opposition to that of the Anglo-Normans, would probably throw great light on this subject; for these itinerant poets must have made use of the English long before it was thought fit for higher purposes. Mr. Ellis has observed, justly, that the history alluded to is involved in great obscurity: nevertheless, before concluding, we intend to recommend it to his further attention.

The epoch from which English may be considered as a classical language, may be fixed in the reign of Edward III. the age of Gower and of Chaucer, in which it was no longer confined to what the latter has called 'the drafty riming' of the wandering minstrel, but employed in the composition of voluminous and serious productions by men possessed of all the learning of the times. The *confessio amantis* of Dan. Gower is thus characterized by Mr. Ellis.

'This poem is a long dialogue between a lover and his confessor, who is a priest of Venus, and is called Genius. As every vice is in its nature unamiable, it ought to follow, that immorality is unavoidably punished by the indignation of the fair sex; and that every fortunate lover must of necessity be a good man, and a good christian; and upon this presumption, which perhaps is not strictly warranted by experience, the confessor passes in review all the defects of the human character, and carefully scrutinizes the heart of his penitent with respect to each, before he will consent to give him absolution.

'Because example is more impressive than precept, he illustrates his injunctions by a series of apposite tales, with the morality of which our lover professes himself to be highly edified; and being of a more inquisitive turn than lovers usually are, or perhaps hoping to subdue his mistress by directing against her the whole artillery of science, he gives his confessor an opportunity of incidentally instructing him in chemistry, and in the Aristotelian philosophy. At length, all the interest that he has endeavoured to excite, by the long and minute details of all his sufferings, and by manifold proofs of his patience, is rather abruptly and unexpectedly extinguished: for he tells us, not that his mistress is inflexible or faithless, but that he is arrived at such a good old age, that the submission of his fair enemy would not have been sufficient for ensuring his triumph.'

We regret that our limits do not permit us to include our author's account of Chaucer, and his poetry. It has been warmly disputed in what particular manner the father of English poetry contributed to its improvement. Mr. Ellis, with great plausibility, ascribes this effect chiefly to the peculiar ornaments of his style, consisting in an affectation of splendour, and especially of latinity, which is not to be found in the simple strains of Robert of Gloucester, or any of the anterior poets, nor indeed in that of Laurence Minot, or others about his own time.

In chapter ninth, the language of Scotland, and the history of her early poetry, comes into consideration. This is a thorny point with every antiquary. The English and Scotish languages are in early times exactly similar; and yet, from the circumstances of the two countries, they must necessarily have had a separate origin. Mr. Ellis seems disposed to adopt the solution of Mr. Hume, who supposes the Saxon language to have been imposed upon the Scotish, by a series of successful invasions and conquests, of which history takes no notice. To this proposition, in a limited degree, we are inclined to subscribe; for there is no doubt that the Anglo-Saxons of Bernicia extended themselves, at least occasionally, as far as the frith of Forth, occupied the Merse and Lothian, introduced into them their language, and, when conquered by the Scots and Picts, were in fact the *Angli*, to whom, as subjects of the Crown of Scotland, our King's charters were so frequently addressed. But we cannot admit these conquests to be supposed further than they are proved; nor do we conceive that one province, though a rich one, could have imposed its language upon the other subjects of the Kings who acquired it by conquest. There must have been some other source from which the Scoto-Teutonic is derived, than the Anglo-Saxon spoken in Lothian. This grand source we conceive to have been the language of the ancient Picts; nor would it be easy to alter our opinion. Those who are connoisseurs in the Scotish dialects as now spoken, will observe many instances of words in the idiom of Angus-shire (the seat of the Picts) which can only be referred to a Belgic root; whereas those of South-country idiom may almost universally be traced to the Anglo-Saxon. The Norman, from which, as Mr. Ellis justly remarks, the Scotish dialect, as soon as we have a specimen of it, appears to have borrowed as much as the English, was probably introduced by the influx of Norman nobles, whom the oppression of their own Kings drove into exile, or whom their native chivalrous and impatient temper urged to seek fortune and adventures in the court of Scotland. Having traced the origin of our language, the earlier Scotish poets Barbour and Winton pass in review, with specimens from each, very happily selected.

to illustrate at once their own powers of composition, and the manners of the age in which they wrote. These are intermingled with criticisms, in which the reader's attention is directed to what is most worthy of notice, and kept perpetually awake by the lively and happy style in which they are conveyed.

The merit of Occleve and Lydgate are next examined, who, with equal popularity, but with merit incalculably inferior, supported the renown of English poetry after the death of Chaucer. One specimen from the latter we cannot help extracting as irresistibly ludicrous.

'One of the most amusing passages in this poem (the Book of Troy) is contained in the seventeenth chapter, and relates to a well known event in the life of Venus. Lydgate thus expresses his indignation against Vulcan

'The *smotry** smith, this swarte Vulcanus,
That whilom in hearte was so jealous
Toward Venus that was his wedded wife,
Whereof there rose a deadly mortal strife,
When he with Mars gan her first espy,
Of high malice, and cruel false envy,
Through the shining of Phebus' beams bright,
Lying a-bed with Mars her owne knight.
For which in heart he brent as any glede,†
Making the slander all abroad to sprede,
And gan thereon falsely for to muse.
And God forbid that any man accuse
FOR SO LITTLE any woman ever!
Where love is set, hard is to dissever!
For though they do such thing of gentleness,
Pass over lightly, and bear none heaviness,
Lest that thou be to woman odious!
And yet this smith, this false Vulcanus,
Albe that he had them thus espied,
Among Paynims yet was he defied!
And, for that he SO FALSELY THEM AWOKE,
I have him set last of all my boke,
Among the goddes of false mawmentry,'‡ &c. (Sign. L. i.)

'Upon this occasion, the morals of our poetical monk are so very pliant, that it is difficult to suppose him quite free from personal motives which might have influenced his doctrine. Perhaps he had been incommoded by some intrusive husband, at a moment when he felt tired

* Smoky, or smutty. † A burning coal. *Loix.*

‡ Mahometry, *i. e.* idolatry. It may be proper to observe, that no part of this passage is to be found in Colonna's original. In general, indeed, Lydgate's is by no means a translation, but a very loose paraphrase.

of celibacy, and wished to indulge in a temporary relaxation from the severity of monastic discipline.'*

From Lydgate our author proceeds to James I. of Scotland, upon whose personal qualities he pronounces a merited panegyric, accompanied with several extracts from the 'Kingis Quair.' The next chapter is peculiarly interesting. It contains a retrospect of the conclusions to be drawn from the information already conveyed; and this introduces a well written and pleasing digression upon the private life of the English during the middle ages. We learn that, even in that early period, the life of the English farmer or yeoman was far superior in ease and comfort to that of persons of the same rank in France. Pierce Ploughman, a yeoman apparently, possessed a cow and calf, and a cart-mare for transporting manure; and although, at one time of the year, he fed upon cheese curds and oat cakes, yet after Lammas, when his harvest was got in, he could 'dress his dinner to his own mind.' We also learn, that the peasants were so far independent, as to exact great wages; and doubtless these circumstances, combined with the practice of archery, gave the English infantry such an infinite advantage over those of other nations, consisting of poor half-fed serfs, and gained them so many battles in spite of the high-soul'd chivalry of France, and the obstinate and enduring courage of our Scotish ancestors. Mr. Ellis remarks, on this subject—'It is very honourable to the good sense of the English nation, that our two best early poets have highly extolled this useful body of men, while the French minstrels of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, universally seem to approve the supercilious contempt with which the nobles affected to treat them.'† We have also much curious information concerning the dress of the period, particularly of the ladies, who in the day-time seem to have been wrapt up in furs, and in the night-time to have slept without shifts. The serenades, the amusements, the food, the fashions, the manners of the period, are all illustrated by quotations from the authors who have referred to them; and, with the singular

* Suspecting that Lydgate had borrowed this singular passage from some French paraphrase of Coloana's work, I examined the anonymous translation in the Museum, (Bibl. Reg. 16. F. IX.), but could not find any traces of such a deviation from the original.

† We have noticed a solitary exception to this general rule.

'Quoique je di, et quoique non
Nus n'est vilains se de cuer non;
Vilains est qui fait vilenie,
Ja tant iert de haute lignie.'

Fabliau de Chevalier des Clers et des Vilains.

advantage of never losing sight of his main subject, Mr. Ellis has brought together much information on collateral points of interest and curiosity, which will be new to the modern reader, and pleasing to the antiquary, by placing, at once, under his review, circumstances dispersed through many a weary page of black letter.

The reign of Henry VI. and those of the succeeding monarchs, down to Henry VIII. seem to have produced few poets worthy of notice. Two translators of some eminence occur during the former period, and the latter is graced by Harding (a kind of Robert of Gloucester *redivivus)*; Hawes, a bad imitator of Lydgate, ten times more tedious than his original; the Ladie Juliana Berners, who wrote a book upon hunting in execrable poetry; and a few other rhimers, who, excepting perhaps Lord Rivers, are hardly worth naming. During this period, however, the poetry of Scotland was in its highest state of perfection; and Mr. Ellis finds ample room, both for his critical and historical talents, in celebrating Henry the minstrel, Henrysoun, Johnstoun, Merear, Dunbar, and Gawain Douglas. Upon the works of the two last, Mr. Ellis dwells with pleasure; and his opinion may have some effect in refreshing their faded laurels. In the reign of Henry VIII. the Scotish bards continue to preserve their superiority; for, surely, the ribald Skelton, and the tiresome John Heywood, cannot be compared to Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, or to the anonymous author of the Mourning Maiden. In this last beautiful poem, the following passage embarrasses Mr. Ellis:

> 'Sall never berne gar breif the bill
> At bidding me to bow.'

The meaning seems to us to be, 'No one shall enrol the summons, which shall force me to yield to his suit.' With this poem Mr. Ellis closes the first part of his work, being the history of the English poetry and language.

We have already taken notice of the very extensive range of discussion which this sketch embraces. It was therefore almost unavoidable, that there should remain subjects on which we might have wished for farther information. The history of English Minstrelsy, in particular, makes too important a part of Mr. Ellis's subject, for us to permit him to escape from it so slightly. As he has announced his intention to publish a second series of specimens, selected from the early metrical romances, we recommend strongly to him, to prefix such a prefatory memoir as may fill up this wide blank in the history of our language. We are the more earnest in this recommendation, because we know, from experience, that Mr. Ellis will manage, with the temper becoming a gentleman, a dispute which, though the circumstance seems to us altogether

astonishing, has certainly had a prodigious effect in exciting the irritable passions of our antiquaries, and has been managed with a degree of acrimony only surpassed by the famous and rancorous quarrel about the Scots and Picts. We observe, with pleasure, that, in repelling some attacks upon his first and second editions, Mr. Ellis has uniformly used the lance of *courtesy*, as a romancer would have said; and truly we have no pleasure in seeing his contemporaries spur their hobbyhorses headlong against each other, and fight at *outrance*, and with *fer emoulu*. Mr. Ellis's style is uniformly chaste and simple, diversified by a very happy gaiety which enlivens even the most unpromising parts of his subject. We have only to add, that no author has passed over his own pretensions with such unaffected modesty, or given more liberal praise to the labours of others.

It cannot be expected, after dwelling so long upon the original part of the work, that we should have much to say upon the specimens which occupy the two last volumes. To each reign is prefixed a general character of the literature of the period; and to each set of specimens some account of the author and his writings. That of Spenser contains some new and curious particulars, with a short and able critique upon his style of poetry We therefore extract it at length.

'From satisfactory information that has lately been procured, it appears that Spenser was born about 1553, and died in 1598-9. He was educated at Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, which he quitted in 1576; and, retiring into the north, composed his 'Shepherd's Calendar,' the dedication of which seems to have procured him his first introduction to Sir Philip Sidney. In 1579, he was employed by Leicester, to whom he had been recommended by Sidney, in some foreign commission. In 1580, he became secretary to Lord Gray of Wilton, then appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland; and, in 1582, returned with him to England. In 1586, he obtained a grant of 3000 acres of land in the county of Cork, and in the following year took possession of his estate, where he generally continued to reside till 1598, when, as Drummond relates on the authority of Ben Jonson, his house was plundered and burnt by the Irish rebels; his child murdered; and himself, with his wife, driven in the greatest distress to England. It was in the course of eleven years, passed in Ireland, that he composed his 'Fairy Queen.'

'If these dates be correct, it will follow, that notwithstanding the illiberal opposition of Lord Burleigh, whose memory has been devoted to ignominy by every admirer of Spenser, the period during which our amiable poet was condemned

To fret his soul with crosses and with cares,
To eat his heart with comfortless despairs,

was not very long protracted; since he began to enjoy the advantages of public office at the age of 26, and, at 33, was rewarded by an am-

ple and independent fortune, of which he was only deprived by a general and national calamity. Few candidates of court favour, with no better pretensions than great literary merit, have been so successful.

'Mr. Warton has offered the best excuses that can be alleged for the defects of the 'Fairy Queen,' ascribing the wildness and irregularity of its plan to Spenser's predilection for Ariosto. But the 'Orlando Furioso,' though absurd and extravagant, is uniformly amusing. We are enabled to travel to the conclusion of our journey without fatigue, though often bewildered by the windings of the road, and surprised by the abrupt change of our travelling companions; whereas it is scarcely possible to accompany Spenser's allegorical heroes to the end of their excursions. They want flesh and blood; a want, for which nothing can compensate. The personification of abstract ideas furnishes the most brilliant images of poetry: but these meteor forms, which startle and delight us when our senses are flurried by passion, must not be submitted to our cool and deliberate examination. A ghost must not be dragged into day light. Personification, protracted into allegory, affects a modern reader almost as disagreeably as inspiration continued to madness.

'This however was the fault of the age; and all that genius could do for such a subject, has been done by Spenser. His glowing fancy, his unbounded command of language, and his astonishing facility and sweetness of versification, have placed him in the first rank of English poets. It is hoped that the following specimens, selected from his minor compositions, will be found to be tolerably illustrative of his poetical, as well as of his moral character.

'The three first books of the 'Fairy Queen' were printed in quarto, 1590; and again, with the three next, in 1596.'

From the works of voluminous authors Mr. Ellis has selected such passages as might give the best general idea of their manner; but he has also been indefatigable in seeking out all such beautiful smaller pieces as used to form the little collections, called, in the quaint language of the times, Garlands. His own work may be considered as a new garland of withered roses. The list concludes with the reign of Charles II. The publication seems to have been made with the strictest attention to accuracy, except that, throughout the whole, the spelling is reduced to the modern standard, for which we fear Mr. Ellis may undergo the censure of the more rigid antiquaries. For our part, as all the antique words are carefully retained and accurately interpreted, we do not think that, in a popular work, intelligibility should be sacrificed to the preservation of a rude and uncertain orthography. As an example of the amatory style of Charles the First's reign, from which our later poetasters have securely pilfered for their mistresses' use so many locks of gold, and teeth of pearl, not to mention roses and lilies, we insert the following song from Carew.

'Ask me no more where Jove bestows,
When June is past, the fading rose;
For in your beauty's orient deep,
These flowers as in their causes sleep.

Ask me no more whither do stray
The golden atoms of the day;
For in pure love heaven did prepare
Those powders to enrich your hair.

Ask me no more whither doth haste
The nightingale, when May is past;
For in your sweet dividing throat
She winters, and keeps warm her note.

Ask me no more where those stars light:
That downwards fall at dead of night;
For in your eyes they set, and there
Fixed become as in their sphere.

Ask me no more if east or west
The phœnix builds her spicy nest;
For unto you at last she flies,
And in your fragrant bosom dies.'

It only remains to mention, that there are prefixed to these volumes two accurate lists of English poets, one chronological, and the other alphabetical, from 1230 to 1650; and that there is an Essay at the conclusion, in which the author's opinion concerning the origin of language is condensed and recapitulated.

ART. XI. *Inquiries concerning the Nature of a Metallic Substance, lately sold in London as a New Metal, under the Title of Palladium.* By Richard Chenevix, Esq. F. R. S. and M. R. I. A. From Philosophical Transactions for 1803. Part II.

WE consider this as a very excellent paper; and, since the subject is not only curious in detail, but may lead to several important general views, we shall devote a few pages to such an account of Mr. Chenevix's inquiries, as may introduce them to the acquaintance of our readers.

An advertisement was circulated last spring, describing the chemical properties of a *new noble metal* called *palladium*, or *new silver*. Specimens of it were exposed to sale; and no account whatever was given of the manner or the place in which they had been procured. They had all undergone the operation of the flatting mill, and were formed into thin laminæ. Nothing like an unwrought specimen, a bit of the ore, or a portion of its ma-

trix, was either described or exhibited. No person of scientific authority came forward to vouch for the account given of the singular properties which this substance was said to possess; and those properties were only unfolded as an advertisement of an article of commerce. All these circumstances contributed to involve the authenticity of the specimens in a great degree of suspicion, and to render it extremely probable that the substance exposed to sale as a new metal, was only a compound or other modification of known minerals, effected by artificial means. With a view to the determination of this point, Mr. Chenevix undertook the course of experiments which forms the subject of the paper now before us. And as he very soon discovered, in the samples which he examined, properties extremely different from those of the known metals, he was led to extend his inquiries, and to procure, for this purpose, the whole of the specimens offered to the public by the proprietor. In presenting our readers with an abstract of this investigation, we shall consider, *first*, the experiments made upon the properties and habitudes of this doubtful substance: these did not suffice to determine its precise nature, which was only discovered, by attempting to form a similar body from a union of simple substances. We shall, in the *second* place, consider the synthetical experiments. After having by this process ascertained the component parts of palladium, our author endeavoured to separate the compound body into its ingredients: These attempts to analyse the alloy will form the last object of attention.

1. The specific gravity of the specimens varied from 10.972 to 11.482; a heat much greater than that of melting gold was required to fuse them; and the specific gravity of the button was increased to 11.871. Sulphur makes it melt at a low temperature, and forms with it a very brittle sulphurate. Charcoal appears to have no sort of affinity with palladium. This substance, when polished, resembles platina very nearly; when melted, it assumes the appearance of crystallization, and is extremely malleable.

The alloy of palladium with equal parts of silver, had a lower specific gravity than palladium itself: the alloy with platina had a much greater specific gravity: the alloys with lead and bismuth bore a striking resemblance to each other; a new circumstance, our readers will remark, in the analogy formerly pointed out between those two metals by Mr. Hatchett. (No. VI. p. 454.)

The alkalies act weakly on palladium, with the assistance of atmospherical air. The mineral acids act much more violently, particularly the nitric and muriatic, and most of all the nitro-muriatic acid. With all these solvents it forms a red liquor,

from which it is precipitated in the form of an orange-coloured powder, by alkalies, earths, and all the metals except gold, silver, and platina.

Notwithstanding the analogy of many of the properties of palladium to those of platina, yet, in several respects, the above experiments were entirely irreconcilable with the known habitudes either of that substance, or of gold or silver. Some other tests, which our author applied, rendered it equally improbable that either lead, copper, or mercury, should have contributed to the formation of this singular body. Above all, the specific gravity of palladium and its habitudes, both with the acids and with respect to the other metals, were such as could never have been expected from the known properties either of platina or mercury; and yet our author found, rather by a casual experiment than by the result of the trials above analysed, that those two metals might be so united as to form a compound in which the most obvious properties of each were entirely concealed, and new properties exhibited, exactly corresponding with those of palladium.

II. When a solution of platina is made by nitro-muriatic acid, and red oxide of mercury made by nitric acid is added to the former solution until it is saturated; and when the whole mixture is heated with green sulphate of iron; a copious precipitate of metallic powder is formed, which is with difficulty fusible into a button, which readily melts when sulphur is added, is soluble in nitric acid, has a specific gravity of 11.2 and is entirely similar to palladium. This alloy contains about one part of mercury and two of platina.

If in this experiment there be substituted for sulphate of iron, either iron, zinc, or phosphate of ammonia, no palladium is produced; nor can platina and mercury be united so as to form palladium, either by direct trituration and digestion, or by mixture of their solutions in acids, or by exposing the two bodies together to violent degrees of heat, or by passing the vapours of the one over the other in a state of intense fusion, or by exhibiting the metals to each other under the action of the most powerful galvanic pile. By two methods besides the one first ascertained, palladium may be formed: sulphurated hydrogen gas may be passed through the mixed solution of platina and mercury; or the precipitate of platina by ammonia, from its solution in nitro-muriatic acid, may be triturated with mercury, and then exposed to a violent heat. The success of both these methods, however, is extremely uncertain; and the union of the metals in every way, except the process of reduction by sulphate of iron, seems to depend upon so great a number of unknown circumstances, that the operation may fairly be considered as one of the most capricious

in chemistry. We are, however, warranted in concluding, that various alloys of mercury and platina may be formed, which do not possess the distinguishing properties of palladium. To unite the two metals so as to increase the fusibility and diminish the specific gravity of the platina, is by no means difficult: But the compound does not acquire the characteristic qualities of palladium until a much greater proportion of the mercury has been combined; and its solubility in nitric acid only takes place when the specific gravity has been reduced to 12 or 12.5.

III. It is singular with what force the component parts of palladium are united, notwithstanding their repugnance to enter into combination. All the experiments which our author made with a view to analyse this substance, completely failed. He tried the converse of all his synthetical operations, without effect. He exposed palladium to a violent heat; subjected it to cupellation; burnt it both in oxygen gas and by means of the galvanic pile, without the slightest tendency to separation being evinced by the component parts. When it was burnt, a thick white smoke arose, which, on being collected, was found to consist of palladium, entirely unaffected by the operation. These experiments were tried not only upon the specimens exposed to sale, but upon the substance produced by our author's experiments; and, what is not a little remarkable, it was found as impossible to decompose the imperfect kind of palladium, formed by a slight union of platina and mercury, as to separate these two metals, from the union of which they are susceptible in the largest proportions.

Mr. Chenevix concludes his paper with some experiments upon the mutual affinities of metals, and the affinities of platina with acids. The former class of experiments is not very interesting: in the latter, it is ascertained that sulphuric acid has a stronger affinity for platina than muriatic acid; from whence our author infers, that the opinion is fallacious which accounts for the solution of platina in nitro-muriatic acid, upon the supposition that the muriatic acid assists the process in the same manner as sulphuric acid aids the decomposition of water by iron. One argument, which he omits to adduce on this point, may be drawn from the opinion now universally entertained by the best chemists, that, in the nitro-muriatic acid, neither of the component acids exists entire, as the sulphuric acid exists in its mixture with water; but that, in fact, a new acid, with a separate radical, is formed by the combination of the other two.

Mr. Chenevix has in this, as in all his other papers, needlessly exposed himself to criticism, both by the affectation of his nomenclature, and by the introduction of general reflections; a de-

partment of writing in which he does not very eminently excel. We are at a loss to perceive the necessity of rejecting the terms *oxygenate* and *oxidate*, for *oxygenize* and *oxidize*, with their clumsy derivatives, *oxygenizement* and *oxidizement*. *Concentrate* (for *concentrated*) we are inclined to rank among errors in grammar, rather than neologisms. *Solidification* is a word which we apprehend owes its being to Mr. Chenevix; and it is rather unaccountable how so scrupulous a nomenclator should retain the old barbarous term *cinnibar*. We are happy to observe, however, that he has overcome his antipathy to the term *oxide*, founded, if we rightly remember, on the notion that this word is apt to be confounded with *ox-hide*. And, whatever objections our author's scientific phraseology may be liable to, we would infinitely rather have him coin as many new words, or revive as many obsolete ones as he pleases, than continue his former practice of stopping perpetually to introduce a dissertation upon the propriety of his language.

With respect to his general observations, the following extract may perhaps justify our inability to applaud his talent for this species of writing.

'If a theory is sometimes useful as a standard to which we may refer our knowledge, it is at other times prejudicial, by creating an attachment in our minds to preconceived ideas, which have been admitted, without inquiring whether from truth or from convenience. We easily correct our judgment as to facts; and the evidence of experiment is equally convincing to all persons. But theories not admitting of mathematical demonstration, and being but the interpretation of a series of facts, are the creatures of opinion, and are governed by the various impressions made upon every individual. Nature laughs at our speculations; and though from time to time we receive such warnings as should awaken us to a due sense of our limited knowledge, we are presented with an ample compensation in the extension of our views, and a nearer approach to immutable truth.' p. 317.

The two most remarkable circumstances in the constitution of palladium, for the knowledge of which the scientific world is indebted to Mr. Chenevix, are the peculiarity of the properties that distinguish it from every other metal, and the impossibility of decompounding it by any known process. He has insisted a good deal upon the singularity of its qualities differing so widely from those of mercury and platina; but we acknowledge ourselves unable to perceive any thing peculiar in this difference. It is one of the most general laws of elective attraction, that the compound body possesses properties entirely different from the ingredients by the union of which it is formed. Nothing surely can less resemble sulphuric acid, than sulphate of soda; nor can any bodies exhibit less similarity than water or steam, and the

two gases which compose it. The effects produced by a variation in the proportions of the constituent parts of palladium, are not to be compared with the changes produced by varying the proportions of the two gases which compose the atmosphere: no amalgam or alloy of mercury and platina differs so essentially from palladium as atmospherical air differs from nitrous gas and nitric acid. The constitution of the vegetable oils and alcohol, and of the different vegetable acids, affords various other instances of a much greater dissimilarity between compound bodies and their component parts, and of a much greater diversity produced by changing the relative proportions of the ingredients, than any which the experiments of Mr. Chenevix have exhibited in the case of the metals.

We must therefore confine our acknowledgement of the importance of these experiments to the circumstance of a metallic substance being presented by them, entirely different from every other; and though evidently a compound, yet incapable of direct analysis by any known process. The indisputable certainty of this fact may teach us to regard with less contempt the great object of the earlier chemical experimentalists; and, without diminishing our just reprobation of the unphilosophical spirit in which their inquiries were conducted, may incline us to believe in the possibility of those transmutations, the pursuit of which has covered with ridicule every thing that bears the name of alchemy.

ART. XII. *Discourses on Theological and Literary Subjects:* By the late Rev. Archibald Arthur, M. A. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. *With an Account of some Particulars in his Life and Character:* By William Richardson, M. A. Professor of Humanity in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow, at the University Press: Printed by J. & J. Scrymgeour. Longman & Rees, London. 1803.

IN an advertisement prefixed to this work, we are informed by the learned editor, that the 'following discourses were not intended by their author to be published as they now appear. With the exception of three or four, none of them ever seem to have been written over by him twice. The liberty taken in offering them to the public, was from the wish entertained by his near relations, of preserving and doing honour to his memory; which they thought could be done, even though the works to be published were as imperfect as has now been mentioned.' Such an intimation as this would necessarily preclude much of the severity of criticism, even if the Discourses to which

it relates were really less valuable than we have found them; but as many of them possess considerable merit, we are sensible of the benefit which his relations and the editor have conferred on the public by printing them, such as they are. Before proceeding to the work itself, we shall notice a few particulars in the account of the author's life and character, which the editor has subjoined in the form of an appendix.

'His father (we are informed) was a considerable farmer in Renfrewshire; and his parents, being persons of great worth, and having such a considerable degree of knowledge as is not unusual among respectable farmers in Scotland, were capable, while teaching their son to read English, of imparting to him other useful information, and of awakening in the tender mind of the child, those affections, and that sense of duty, which might afterwards be required of him in discharging the important functions of manhood.' p. 493, 494.

After passing some years at a grammar school in Paisley, he was removed, in his fourteenth year, to the University of Glasgow, the scene of his future labours. Here his abilities soon attracted the notice of Mr. Moorhead and Dr. Moor, the teachers of the Latin and Greek languages at that time; 'men, (says Mr. Richardson) not more eminent for their taste and erudition, than for their goodness of heart, and attachment to early merit.' As he made choice of the clerical profession, (we are told) that 'he applied with great diligence to that course of philosophical study which is held necessary to the knowledge of theology and the duties of a clergyman.' This we certainly find no difficulty in believing; but we must suspect the partiality of friendship, when Mr. Richardson proceeds to transform Mr. Arthur into a kind of Sir Isaac Newton, telling us that the

—'capacity of his mind, enlarging itself in the course of intellectual exertion, became so great, that in his riper years no discovery in science was too extensive or too vast for his comprehension. Along with this, his habits of profound and accurate thinking discovered themselves by the surprising facility with which he was able to apprehend the most abstruse and difficult subjects of philosophical and abstract inquiry. Nor was there any disquisition so intricate, as that his acuteness and perspicuity could not unravel and unfold its perplexities. Nor were his talents for extensive comprehension, and the ready conception of scientific knowledge, confined to any one department.' p. 497, 498.

The fact which follows this splendid encomium is, however, a proof that he was a man of uncommon and various acquirements: 'Both before and after his appointment to a professorship, he lectured, when occasion required, in logic, botany, and humanity;' and, 'during the necessary absence of the Professor of Church History, he lectured for a whole session of College, in that department,' with very great reputation.

Soon after obtaining his license from the Presbytery, he was appointed chaplain to the University of Glasgow, and was much esteemed as a preacher. He became likewise librarian to the University, and gave general satisfaction to that learned body, by making a most distinct catalogue of the books contained in the college library. His merit as a preacher had already obtained for him an additional appointment, in being made assistant to Dr. Craig, a clergyman of great eminence in Glasgow; and he was soon about to receive a still more conspicuous mark of the value in which his attainments were held by men of discernment, in being recommended by Dr. Reid to the University as a fit person to assist and succeed him in the honourable capacity of Professor of Moral Philosophy. While he was yet but little known to that judicious philosopher, he preached a sermon in his hearing, of so much merit, that, at the conclusion, Dr. Reid whispered to one of his brethren, 'This is a very sensible fellow, and, in my opinion, would make a good professor of morals.' Dr. Reid lived fifteen years after Mr. Arthur was nominated to this appointment; and the latter enjoyed it only one year after the death of the former. Some specimens of his ability as a prosor are now given to the public in the first part of the following Discourses.

In his moral character, Mr. Arthur appears to have been amiable and benevolent, steady in his purposes, and friendly to the good order and peace of society. His greatest peculiarity was

—'an invincible bashfulness, of which the habit continued to clog his manner, or impede his exertions, during the whole course of his life; and which contributed, perhaps, to promote, or to confirm a slight, but ungainly hesitation in his speech; from which he was never, but very seldom, or occasionally released. On some occasions, however, when he arrived at manhood, and in the after course of his life, he experienced such release. There were luminous moments, which his friends can never forget, when the ease of intimacy, and the hilarity of social enjoyment, unbarred his utterance, and gave vent to a torrent of most impressive elocution, rich in science, abounding with information, and flowing in a stream of correct, yet spirited diction; of which the effect seemed to be so much the more powerful, that its commencements were so reluctant.' p. 494, 495.

He died in 1797. And here most biographers would have stopped; but the learned Professor has made an effort to astonish us, by concluding his narrative with a laboured and puerile imitation of that splendid passage in Tacitus's Life of Agricola, in which the Roman historian expresses his assurance that Agricola, though dead, still enjoys a perpetuity of existence and of happiness! We certainly are not at all inclined to

doubt that Mr. Arthur has received the reward of his virtues; but we cannot help thinking that the learned biographer has thrown a degree of ridicule both upon his friend, and on a very important doctrine, by his affected and strained manner of expressing himself on the subject. For instance, he must quote Milton, and tell us, that 'sunk though he be—so sinks the day-star in the ocean-bed,' &c. If Mr. Richardson think it absolutely necessary to quote poetry, and to turn his friend into a star, we would recommend a line of Virgil as considerably more appropriate—

'Arcturum, pluviasque Hyadas, geminosque Triones.'

It will be a relief to our readers to turn from this instance of *falsetto*, to the sound and plain sense displayed in Mr. Arthur's own compositions. He is very far from ever being perversely or absurdly eloquent; and, indeed, if there be any defect in his style, it is, that his simplicity approaches to tameness.

The Discourses are divided into two parts; the first of which comprehends Theological, and the second Literary Discourses. The first are a specimen of Mr. Arthur's Lectures; the second were chiefly read in a literary society of which he was a member. The subjects of the Theological Discourses are as follows: 1. On the argument for the existence of God, from the appearances of design in the universe: 2. Observations by Mr. Hume, on the existence of God, considered: 3. The goodness of God defended from the objections of Mr. Hume: 4. On the justice and moral government of God: 5. Of evils and their causes, and of the systems respecting them.

It cannot be supposed that we should enter into a minute analysis of the different reasonings contained in these Discourses. The subject precludes any thing like novelty; and very probably all the reasonings which Mr. Arthur has advanced on these first principles of religion may be found in the writings of those distinguished men who preceded him in the same walk. We may however affirm, that he has always treated his subject with precision and clearness; and is both very candid to the acute adversary whom he opposes, and very successful in wielding those weapons which Dr. Reid had put into his hands. In the first Discourse, for instance, after stating, as is commonly done, the evident marks of design in the universe, he places upon its true foundation the inference which we draw, that these must necessarily have been produced by intelligence or a designing cause.

'These judgements which we form concerning Causes, from observing their Effects, must be founded upon an original principle in our constitution. They are universal, and yet nobody assigns a reason for them. They are evidently not conclusions from reasoning. It is impossible to

point out any intermediate steps by which they are proved; and nobody has attempted it. No man can give any argument by which it can be shewn, that a mathematical figure must be the work of an intelligent being, and could not be the work of a fowl or of a quadruped. We judge indeed in this manner, but we can assign no reason for our judgement any more than we can assign any reason why we judge that two and two make four. Neither did we learn to judge in this manner by experience. From experience we can acquire knowledge only concerning contingent truth or matters of fact, which may be, or may not be without any absurdity. We can never learn from experience any knowledge concerning necessary truths which must be, and which it involves an absurdity to suppose not to be. We may learn from experience, that bodies gravitate. This is not a necessary truth; it is only contingent, and depends on the will of the Creator; and if He had pleased, body might have had opposite properties, or might not have existed. But we cannot learn from experience, that the whole is equal to all its parts. This is a necessary truth, and necessarily flows from the notions we have of a whole and of its parts. It must be true; and it is impossible, and involves absurdity, to think otherwise. Now, our judgements concerning the connexion of effects and causes, are judgements concerning necessary truths. We do not judge that the connexion *may* take place but that it *must* take place. These judgements, therefore, are of such a nature, as experience cannot suggest.' p. 15—17.

The principles stated in this quotation are afterwards applied very successfully to the confutation of Mr. Hume; and although we refrain from entering more minutely into this speculation, we will not hesitate to recommend to the attention of our readers, particularly those who may have been perplexed by Mr. Hume's ingenuity, these Discourses of Mr. Arthur, who has collected into one point of view all the scattered reasonings of Dr. Reid on the subject, and illustrated every position with familiar and striking instances.

In the third Discourse, he defends the goodness of the Deity from the objections of the same able and sagacious disputant. He begins with stating, that the chief objections to the goodness of God arise from exaggerated and gloomy pictures of human misery. That such views are far from being correct, he proves from several considerations. The following observations we think well worthy attention.

'If we were to refer the matter to every man's determination, and if every man were to declare honestly what he had felt, the determination of the question, with respect to human happiness, might be reduced to a very narrow compass. There is no man who has not spent many more days of happiness than of misery. Consider the situation of the generality of mankind, and think what can be added to their felicity. Almost the whole of them wish for something more than they have. This is a spur

to their exertion. But what they have in view is generally a trifle, in comparison of what they already actually possess. If a man be provided with the necessaries of life, or be able to provide them by his labour; if he enjoy tolerable health, and be conscious of no crime; he can hardly feel much uneasiness, unless he be haunted by some of those phantoms of the imagination which men sometimes raise to disturb their own repose.' p. 65, 66.

The limitation of his doctrine in the following passage is stated, we think, with great candour and moderation.

'If God had so pleased, he could undoubtedly have rendered every being he has formed completely happy. He could have made them incapable even of rendering themselves miserable: He could have made them necessary, instead of voluntary agents; and compelled them to act in the way that would infallibly have produced felicity; or he might have contrived things in such a manner, that they must have been happy in whatever way they acted. He has not ordered matters in any such way; and therefore we may be sure that he never intended to do so. Every thing is so conducted, that his creatures arise to greater and greater degrees of happiness, in consequence of their own exertion, and in consequence of the improvement which, by his appointment, follows from their exertions. The more wise and the more virtuous they become, the more happy they are of consequence. It is evident, therefore, though the Deity intended to communicate happiness, and has done so in the most liberal manner, yet this was not the only end which he had in view. His beneficence must be considered as connected with the other active principles of his nature. He intended to make man happy; but it was in a particular manner, which he knew would at last contribute to the greatest general felicity of the species. If we suppose benevolence, or the disposition to confer immediate or unqualified happiness, to be the only principle of action in the Divine Mind, we can see no reason why there should be evil of any kind in the world at all; since, undoubtedly, his wisdom was sufficient to foresee it, and his power to prevent it. But since there is much more happiness than misery in the world, we have sufficient reason to conclude that he acted from benevolence. The presumption arising from this consideration evidently is, that he must have also had other principles of action besides benevolence; but whether subservient to it, upon the whole, or not, is not the present question.' p. 82, 83.

To Mr. Hume's ingenious argument against ascribing any higher degree of goodness to the Deity than is displayed in his works, Mr. Arthur also makes a very satisfactory answer in the latter part of this discourse.

In the fourth discourse, on the justice and moral government of God, we meet with some very elegant observations on the punishment which vice necessarily carries along with it.

The remarks on a future state, with which the discourse concludes, appear to us to place the reasonableness of that doctrine in a very striking light.

'The present plan of the Divine Government renders this expectation more strong and better founded, than it would have been upon any other supposition. If there had been no tendency in virtue to produce happiness, nor in vice to produce misery at present, we could not have had any certainty that there is a moral administration established; and from observing the present course of things, and seeing that virtue and happiness were perfectly disunited, we would have been apt, from analogy, to conclude, that they would always be disunited, and that there would be no state of retribution. Perceiving no reason to believe that God is just, we could not, on such a supposition, be led to conclude, that he would some time or other act as a just and impartial judge. If, on the contrary, virtue had been always fully and invariably rewarded in this state of things, and vice, in like manner, fully and invariably punished; if happiness and virtue, vice and misery, had been uniformly united, and never been separated; we might have been much more uncertain of a future state, than we are at present. Such a state would be a perfect state, and we could perceive no end that could be served by any alteration in it. If men, therefore, died under such a dispensation; or, in other words, went out of that state; we might be apt to think they had fully received their reward, and were never more to exist.

'There is, however, another view of the matter, even upon this supposition, that would still leave the question in suspense; for if God be good and just, it cannot be believed, that he would exterminate from existence, those whom he had already countenanced and rewarded: And therefore, if he took them away from their present condition, it must be to answer some good ends to them; and since they were happy here, the only end he could have in view, would be to render them still happier in another state. The government, however, that is in fact established, in which we see clear and manifest marks of a moral administration of justice and equity, but intermixed with certain irregularities and exceptions, furnishes us with an argument in favour of a future state of existence, much more convincing than any that could be suggested by an administration apparently more perfect and impartial. It leads us to consider ourselves as only in the beginning of our existence, in a state of trial and of discipline; and it necessarily directs our views to another, connected with and founded upon it, which will be a state of final retribution.' p. 125, 126.

We have already given so many quotations from these discourses, that we are afraid to enter on the next, 'of evils and their causes, and of the systems respecting them,' lest we should be tempted to swell this article greatly beyond its proper bounds. We shall therefore leave the depths of theology, with once more assuring our readers, that if they are inclined to venture into these arduous paths, they cannot easily intrust themselves to the conduct of a safer or more intelligent guide than Mr. Arthur.

Mr. Arthur's first discourse, in the second part of the work, is 'on qualities of inanimate objects, which excite agreeable sensations.' He observes that there are varieties in these sensations.

'A gentle flowing rivulet, and an impetuous torrent do not affect us in the same manner. The mind is disposed to tranquillity by the one, and roused and agitated by the other. The distinction between the sensations occasioned by sublime and by beautiful objects, is universally known. The characters of these sentiments are exceedingly different. The sensation of beauty is gay and enlivening. The sensation of sublimity is solemn and elevating.' p. 184, 185.

The sentiments of men, however, are not always uniform in these respects: Some men have emotions of sublimity and beauty, from perceptions which do not occasion these feelings in others; but notwithstanding such diversities, there is a regularity in these sentiments, on the whole, which is a proof that they are not founded on caprice.

'When men are placed in situations in which their passions are altogether uninterested, they discover little variety in their judgments concerning beauty and sublimity. The rainbow and the morning sky have called forth the same sensations in all ages: The parterre of modern times exhibits the same flowers that were cultivated by former generations: The forms of human beauty which charmed the remote ages of antiquity, transmitted to future times by the art of the statuary, are still looked upon as patterns of excellence.' p. 189.

Mr. Arthur endeavours to point out, in this discourse, the circumstances in the colour and figure of external objects, which occasion the sensation of beauty. Most of our readers are probably acquainted with the elegant theory of Mr. Alison, which accounts for all our perceptions of sublimity or beauty in inanimate objects, from their habitual association with some simple ideas of emotion, and the consequent suggestion of something interesting to our selfish or sympathetic feelings. This theory, which had been imperfectly anticipated by those who resolved the impressions of beauty into a perception of utility, fitness, &c. had not been communicated to the public when Mr. Arthur composed these discourses. He accordingly follows the footsteps of Hogarth, Hucheson and Burke, in ascribing the emotions produced by beautiful objects to the direct agency of their external qualities, and applies himself to the enumeration of those properties that appear to produce this effect. In his opinion, the circumstances in external objects which occasion the sensation of beauty, are 'insensible connexion' and 'quick succession' of shades in colour, and parts in figure. He illustrates this position from the example of the verdure of nature.

'It is equally removed from the fierceness of the red, and the languor of the violet. The surfaces on which it is usually seen, are smooth and glossy. Hence the different lights exhibit upon them, all the shades of this colour, from that which approaches the blue to that which joins the yellow, insensibly connected with one another. At the same time,

no one shade occupies so large a space as to be contemplated by itself, separately from the shades connected with it. These two circumstances of insensible connexion, and quick succession among the different shades, seem to be the cause that this colour upon vegetables is so highly agreeable, as all acknowledge it to be. By means of the insensible and uninterrupted connexion which subsists among the different shades, it assumes the appearance of a regular whole, and enters the mind with the greatest facility. The quickness of the succession occasions the gaiety of the sensation. When the mind broods over a single thought, it is in a solemn state; but when a variety of objects, so united as not to embarrass it, are presented before it, it is gay and cheerful. Similar observations may be made on all the other beautiful colours.' p. 191, 192.

Similar observations he applies to figure; and those on Mr. Hogarth's line of beauty appear to be just and ingenious. He then proceeds to shew, in opposition to Mr. Burke, that angular figures are frequently beautiful, although he admits that a square is less beautiful than a circle.

'The parts of which it is composed are connected, as belonging to a whole; but they are large and few, and do not follow one another in quick succession. The sensation, therefore, has little gaiety.' p. 195.

To render his opinions more precise, he tells us, that in forming our conceptions of beauty, it is proper to throw out of consideration every thing except *colour* and *figure*; and that though utility, or other considerations, may render the sight of an object agreeable or desirable, it is always easy to distinguish this sort of affection from that which is produced directly by its beauty. Beauty, he concludes, is not the common name of every thing which excites agreeable sensations: 'it is a property of colour, and figure alone, and belongs to nothing else, in a proper sense.'

Now, even if we could pass over the fundamental error of this theory, it appears to us that it is evidently liable to the charge of inconsistency. Beauty, according to Mr. Arthur's own hypothesis, is not perceived immediately by any organ or faculty of the mind; it results merely from the excitation of lively and various ideas, suggested by the rapid succession of connected parts in a beautiful object: but if this be the case, every thing else that excites a rapid and lively succession of ideas, should be denominated beautiful, as well as the alterations of colour and figure; and if it be undeniably true, that many external objects do suggest a variety of lively ideas, that have no connexion with colour or form, it seems altogether unreasonable to deny that their beauty is increased or occasioned by these associations. The beauty of any object, according to Mr. Arthur's definition of it, consists in its power of exciting lively ideas; and it is evident that he has given a defective account of the causes of their beauty, if such ideas

may be excited, as they indubitably may, by other qualities than the shape and the colour.

In the two following discourses, however, Mr. Arthur proceeds to accommodate the theories of Mr. Burke and Dr. Hucheson, concerning beauty, to his own; and he certainly points out, with great acuteness, what is erroneous in their opinions; and shews that, in as far as they are correct, they coincide very much with those which he had previously asserted. Our limits will not now permit us to enter into an investigation of our author's doctrines in the subsequent essays. We add the following judicious observations upon the alleged influence of custom in matters of taste.

'Suppose a man to have spent the whole of his life in a village, in which there is only one elegant house, and all the rest are mean cottages; will not this person pronounce that house the most beautiful in the village? On what does he found his judgment? It is, no doubt, the most rare form of a house he has ever seen; but surely it is not also the most common, for all the other houses in the village resemble one another more than they resemble it. Let a man who has visited all the cathedrals in the kingdom, be brought to St. Paul's, it will appear to him unlike any of those which he had formerly visited. All those great buildings which he had been examining, were built in the form of a cross, and in the Gothic style of architecture: All of them had a considerable resemblance to one another. He now beholds a building of a very different kind; but it will not, on that account, appear to him deformed or monstrous. He will certainly admire it as a noble piece of architecture.—Is there a child who does not prefer a smooth surface to a rough one; and a regular figure, in which all the parts are connected with one another, to an unformed and unconnected mass? The long arched neck of the swan is singular among birds, and the branching antlers of the stag among beasts; but they are not upon this account reckoned ugly or monstrous: On the contrary, all acknowledge that they are beautiful.' p. 332-3.

'It is readily acknowledged, that agreeable sensations are derived from an attention to the laws of custom and fashion. These, however, ought to be distinguished from those pleasures of taste which are derived from what is really beautiful or grand in the works of nature or of art. In all probability, it has principally been owing to a neglect of this important distinction, that the principles of taste have sometimes been represented as arbitrary and capricious. Every thing which entirely depends upon custom, is certainly capricious. But there are many agreeable objects that have continued throughout all ages to be agreeable. Fashion may sometimes oppose the natural principles of beauty and elegance; but whenever it does so, it cannot be very lasting. The love of grace and elegance must at last prevail, though it should be after a tedious struggle. The fashion in gardening, and in building, is now more suitable to nature than it formerly was; and, in all probability, it will last much longer than those fashions which immediately preceded it.

It is not to be suspected that the opulent will soon return to the Gothic arch, the narrow-grated window, the long avenue, the formal terrace-walk, the *jet-d'eau* from the mouth of a triton, and the cascade supplied from the temple of a water-nymph.' p. 339.

On the whole, although there is nothing very original in Mr. Arthur's speculations, yet they always indicate a clear and intelligent, if not a very profound mind. If they will not add much to the information of the philosopher, they will at least assist the conceptions of the student; and, in point of writing, they are certainly of a superior order to the compositions which generally fall under our review. Making allowance for a few Scoticisms, which the learned editor might have taken upon him to correct, without any fear of abusing the trust reposed in him, the language is, in general, pure, chaste, and unaffected; although, as we have already hinted, bordering too frequently on feebleness and languor.

Having said this, we think we have said enough; and are not conscious of lying under any obligation to promise immortality to these discourses, as Mr. Richardson appears inclined to do in the concluding paragraph of his biographical sketch. Speaking of Mr. Arthur's relations, he says,

'They have thus erected a monument to his memory, more permanent, and more satisfactory, than any that could have been executed by the chisel or by the pencil. These must perish; but this will endure: and, if their partiality does not deceive them, will transmit to posterity the portraiture and likeness, not of a frail and perishing body, but of a mind actuated by the best principles, and endowed with superior powers.' p. 517.

This is no doubt very fine, although not quite equal to the pattern passage in Tacitus; but we suspect there is more eloquence in it than the occasion required. Indeed, that immortality which authors and their friends are so fond of predicting, is a poor business at the best; and the frequent failure of the prophecy gives a ludicrous air to its repetition. It will be enough if the author succeed in edifying the present generation.

ART. XIII. *Remarks on the Constitution of the Medical Department of the British Army; with a Detail of Hospital Management; and an Appendix, attempting to explain the Action of Causes in producing Fever, and the Operation of Remedies in effecting Cure.* By Robert Jackson, M. D. 8vo. London, 1803. pp. 351.

THE singular and motley production before us was written, as we are informed in the preface, with the twofold design of directing the attention of Government to the improve-

ment of military medicine, and of vindicating the reputation of the author from certain charges of mal-practice and mismanagement, which were preferred against him while physician to the hospital of the Army-*Dépôt* in the Isle of Wight. For the credit, however, of the writer, (whose former works are not entirely unknown to us), and for the honour of the medical profession, we could have wished that it had not appeared; for we do not recollect to have ever waded through so great a mass of matter, with so little pleasure or instruction; and nothing but the extreme importance of the subject, and the dangerous tendency of many of the doctrines inculcated in the present volume, could have led us to offer any animadversions upon it.

In the observations contained in the First Part, concerning the bad effects that result from the various and deficient education of regimental surgeons, the improper management of hospitals, and the necessity of a reform of these abuses, we find nothing which discovers much profound reflection or laborious research, or which can be ranked above common-place remark. To obviate the first of these evils, Dr. Jackson, in imitation of some former projectors, suggests the propriety of instituting a Medical School, for the education of military surgeons; and, as the recruits assembled at the Army-*Dépôt* in the Isle of Wight require a medical establishment, he thinks this school may be very conveniently placed there. The pupils admitted into the seminary must be of the age of twenty to twenty-three years, possessed of a liberal and classical education, and all the information necessary for the exercise of their profession in civil life, with unequivocal testimonies of a good moral conduct. After remaining for the space of twelve months in this institution, and acquiring, under the guidance of an able teacher, a thorough knowledge of the diseases most incident to armies in different climates and in different situations, and a sufficient acquaintance with the management of hospitals, they may be considered as qualified to become candidates for the commissions of assistant-surgeons in regiments of the line. To the general plan of this establishment, we have little to object; but we should be inclined to oppose its foundation, on the same principal that Dr. Jackson has censured the regulations of the Medical Board restricting the advancement of Army surgeons, *viz.* that it would be extremely injurious to preclude deserving individuals from all possibility of serving in the medical department of the Army, merely because they had not gone through a stated, though, perhaps, not necessary form of education. Indeed, we are at some loss to conjecture the reasons which led Dr. Jackson to fix upon the Isle of Wight (a most sequestered spot) as the proper place

for such a school, or the motives which could induce him to propose that the superintendance of it, as well as of all military hospitals, should be confined to one medical chief; unless that Dr. Jackson, from his extensive experience, deem himself the sole person endowed with the rare and superior qualifications requisite for these important offices. Of his mode of reasoning on this subject, the following quotations may serve as specimens.

'An army,' says Dr. Jackson in his figurative language, 'is an animated machine, consisting of many parts or instruments, of different degrees of power and importance, in a general purpose. It is organized upon a common principle; it is bound together by a common connexion; and it is moved by a common impulse: but, though so organized, so connected, and so moved in its artificial arrangement, its different parts, which are perfect in themselves individually, are animated independently, and, in obeying their own laws of motion, are exposed to the action of a variety of causes, which have a tendency to derange or destroy their elementary existence.' (p. 2.)—'There is only one military chief in an army; there can only be one chief in an hospital, and he must be a medical one; for health is the object of hospital establishments, and the concerns of health cannot be supposed to be well understood, except by persons of the medical profession, and those of the most enlightened class.—The construction, therefore, of the medical machine, in order to be effective of its purposes, must hinge upon a simple principle: for deviation from simplicity leads to error, or produces non-effect.' p. 27-8.

Contrasting the arrangement of the foreign medical establishments with that of the British army, he observes,

'The Austrian hospital is regular in its movement as the duty of the military parade; and the efficiency of the organizing principle mechanically arranges new materials in their proper places, without confusion, and without loss of time.' p. 11.

To our minds, however, this regularity of operation and uniformity of practice appear to be the grand and fundamental defects of the system which Dr. Jackson so warmly recommends, and to form the strongest arguments against the imitation of such a mode of proceeding. In fact, we can conceive nothing more prejudicial to the welfare of his patients, than the 'habit of conduct mechanically correct,' which he proposes for adoption 'in the management of hospitals.' (p. 46.) Educated in the camp, and accustomed to the routine of military operations, Dr. Jackson seems to think, that the various affections of the living system may be as easily disposed of as the different articles of a soldier's equipment, and that, at the command of a 'medical chief,' diseases should perform their evolutions, and arrange themselves in any order he is pleased to dictate; but sad

experience, we believe, will inform him, that they are not always so submissive and obedient, but will often rise in mutiny, and dispute his most peremptory decisions.

The second division of the 'Remarks' is occupied with an account of the management of the hospital in the Isle of Wight, under the superintendance of the author. From this narrative, it appears that Dr. Jackson, when he first became entrusted with the care of the sick in Packhurst barracks, judged it necessary, or expedient, to deviate from the plan generally pursued in similar situations. Thus he divided his patients into different classes, according to their particular complaints; allotted to each class a separate ward; and, when they recovered to a certain degree, removed them to apartments destined solely for the reception of those in a convalescent state: if they suffered a relapse, he caused them to retrace their steps to their former apartments.—These regulations, to a certain extent, seem not improper; but we can by no means approve of the principle which led Dr. Jackson to fix the diet of all the patients in the same ward at the same general standard; for it must be obvious to every one the least conversant with disease, that appetite does not always keep equal pace with the other symptoms of sickness or recovery, and that it varies very much according to the mode of life and constitution of the patient. Nor can we, after much serious consideration, discover the vast superiority of verbal instructions to written orders, with regard to the duties of hospital attendants. The following observations, connected with this subject, appear to border a little on the *ludicrous*.

'It is a duty of the medical chief to fan the sparks of affection as they shew themselves; to foster them with care, till they assume a good and steady growth. The growth, even among soldiers and *soldiers' wives*, is not reluctant, if tenderly nursed; but it does not thrive under harsh and rigorous treatment. The nurses and attendants of the sick, who possess sensibility of heart, are cordially engaged in their duties, by being confidentially treated, so as to be made, in some measure, a part of the medical establishment. If they possess confidence, their benevolence is warmed; they feel an interest in the fate of their charge; and participate all the anxieties, and all the pleasures of the physician.' p. 94.

These improvements or alterations in hospital practice, which Dr. Jackson was desirous of having generally introduced, did not, however, meet with the approbation of those to whose consideration they were submitted. A considerable mortality had taken place among the soldiers in the Isle of Wight, towards the end of the year 1801; and some eye-witnesses of the mode of treatment followed by the author, thought it their duty to lay an account of it before the Army Medical Board, who highly disap-

proved of it, attributing to it the great decline and loss of the troops under Dr. Jackson's care. 'It appears,' they observe in a letter addressed to the Secretary at War, 'that Dr. Jackson's mode of carrying on the Isle of Wight Hospital is an apparent saving of money; but at the Isle of Wight, and lately at Chatham, we have observed an unprecedented number of deaths, (*viz.* 27 in the last month, and 21 in the last two weeks), frequent relapses, and tedious recoveries, with a debilitated state of the patients; therefore, so far from œconomy being effected, there has been a very serious loss of men, and ultimately a great expenditure. These returns called upon us to recommend, that two physicians should be sent immediately to the Isle of Wight.'

To justify himself from these allegations, Dr. Jackson endeavours to shew, that the great number of deaths among the soldiers arose from the malignant nature of the disorders with which they were affected; and the four physicians, who were deputed by the Medical Board to examine, and present a report of the state of Packhurst Hospital, seem disposed to refer them to the same cause, aggravated by the crowded state and foul air of the wards. Nor does this mortality appear to have been diminished under the physicians who succeeded Dr. Jackson in the charge of Packhurst Hospital; but, on the contrary, very much increased; having been, from the 18th of July to the 31st of December 1801 (the time of Dr. Jackson's superintendance), in the proportion of 1 in 15¼; while, from the 1st of January to the 30th April 1802, it was no less than 1 in 8. This difference, however, may have been owing to accidental circumstances, and cannot be regarded as attributable to neglect or improper management on the part of the physicians, to whom the care of the sick was entrusted after Dr. Jackson's demission.

So far we think the author's vindication of himself plausible. Into the merits, however, of the remaining part of his apology, we are not prepared to enter very fully, as the documents with which he has furnished us are too scanty and imperfect to enable us to form any decided opinion with regard to the justness of his cause. The specimens, however, which he has given us of his practice in the course of the 'Remarks,' and which he has developed at full length in the Appendix, call for the severest censure, and seem to justify most completely the conduct of the Medical Board towards Dr. Jackson. We agree with the late Dr. M'Laurin (to whom the author seems to have had a very unjust antipathy) in deprecating 'the horrid system of depletion;' and we perused, with no small degree of terrific anxiety, the account given by Dr. Jackson of a patient in the first stage of typhus fever, whom he bled at once to *fifty-six ounces*, and who, in three or four days, after

the plentiful use of opium, hot and nourishing drinks, &c. was able to return to his duty! This instance of bold and unprincipled proceeding, which is cited by the author with so much triumph, may serve to evince the great powers of nature, but can never form the criterion of rational practice or true professional skill. Similar considerations would lead us to disapprove of Dr. Jackson's treatment of patients in a convalescent state. Imbued with all the prejudices of the humoral pathologists, he roundly asserts that relapse is the general consequence of repletion. Although we should be far from recommending the practice of gorging patients during recovery from disease, of forcing them to eat against their inclination, or allowing them, perhaps, to indulge so much in the use of stimulating drinks as they are often inclined; yet nothing, surely, can be more injurious, than to stint convalescents in their allowance of general diet, which, when freely exhibited, so manifestly tends to aid and accelerate their progress towards recovery. So little do we imagine relapse to be the consequence of repletion, that we believe it proceeds, in many cases, from a contrary cause; as must be well known to those whose professional avocations have afforded them the means of knowing the health, and witnessing the mode of living, of the lower classes of society, among whom, chill penury, and its consequent inconveniencies, are generally reckoned among the most common causes of the disorders to which they are so frequently liable.

The Appendix (to which we shall now direct our attention) occupies about one half of the volume, and adds one to the numerous instances we already possess of the futility of medical theories when founded on no just or rational *data*, but when merely the offspring of erroneous deduction or diseased imagination.—A predilection for vague and frivolous hypothesis has long been deemed the *opprobrium medicorum;* and, indeed, if we examine the history of medicine from its first origin down to the present time, we shall behold little else than a succession of fanciful systems, founded on a few scattered observations, and erected, it would often appear, only to gratify the vanity of their projectors, and which have served little other purpose than to perpetuate the folly and absurdity of the times which gave them birth. The different symptoms of disease have been confounded, and its different stages blended together; the variety of the primary and secondary action of remedies has been overlooked; and a few insulated facts have been grasped at, as sufficient to explain all the phenomena of animated nature. In this country, however, where physical science has, of late, made such rapid advances, physicians now appear to have run unto the opposite ex-

treme; and, from their anxiety to avoid those fatal errors of reasoning and practice, to which the speculations of too many medical theorists have given birth, have rejected with disdain, and without discrimination, all attempts to generalize and improve the principles of medical science. Hence has arisen an opinion, that all theory in medicine was useless, or, at least, of little moment in a practical point of view; and that *experience* was the only guide in which a prudent physician would confide. This opinion we hold to be equally ill-founded and dangerous; for, whatever difference may exist between the slow deductions of experience and the more prompt conclusions of a theorising mind, there cannot be a doubt, that all legitimate generalisation must rest on the firm basis of observation and experiment. However much, then, we may reprobate the hasty assumption of those puerile hypotheses, to which we are so often referred for proofs of the inutility of theories in medicine, and which, when applied to practice, may undoubtedly prove the sources of pernicious error, we must, on the other hand, allow, that a fair and cautious induction of general principles may be of the highest utility in medical research, and, by facilitating the acquisition of necessary knowledge, will give us a more ready and certain command over it when obtained, and enable us to accommodate our practical conduct to the different unforeseen occurrences that are constantly obtruded upon us in the exercise of our profession. Till, however, the rules of the Inductive philosophy be more fully understood and practised by physicians; till the science of physiology be improved, and the system of medical education reformed, we despair of seeing any extensive and successful adoption of general principles in medicine; for it cannot be expected, that mankind will ever be led to acknowledge their importance, till they become acquainted with all the circumstances necessary for their induction and application.

One other cause, which is, in some measure, connected with the former, and which powerfully retards the advancement of medical knowledge, deserves to be specified, *viz.* the vague and undetermined use of language, and the improper application of terms, borrowed from other sciences, to explain the phenomena of the animal economy in the various states of health and disease. Thus, the language of chemistry, of mechanics, of morals, and of metaphysics, has been successively adopted in medicine, without much regard to the propriety of the innovation, and with still less concern for the honour of the profession, and the general welfare of mankind. The author of the present work, however, not content with retracing many of the errors of his predecessors, has advanced a step beyond them, and, by a free and promiscuous use of those technical terms with which he was most fami-

liarly acquainted, has framed a phraseology to describe the actions of the living system, which, in ridiculous absurdity, far eclipses all former attempts of a similar description, and bids defiance, in extravagancy, to the rhapsodies of Paracelsus, or the reveries of the enthusiast Van Helmont. Of this jumble of theories, this mixture of languages and confusion of tongues, it is difficult to give any regular and precise account; for, in it, arts and sciences dance together in 'various circles of movement,' without any proper time, place, or measure, so as, at last, to produce the most confused chaotic mass. A few extracts, perhaps, may accomplish what no analysis is adequate to, and serve to give our readers some distant idea of this curious jargon, which we hope will long remain *unique*.

When detailing the phenomena of febrile diseases, Dr. Jackson's favourite expressions seem to be borrowed from the language of prosody, and through the whole of his Appendix our ears are stunned with an unceasing and unvarying ring upon the terms '*rhythm of movement*,' '*rhythmical movement*,' '*rule of harmony*,' &c. 'A certain rhythm of movement,' he says, 'is a condition inseparable from a living animal body; as the integrity of the order and force of that rhythm is the index of health. But as movement is an expression of the presence of life, and rhythmical movement an expression of health; so, the mode of health is liable to be perverted, the motions of the machine to be even finally arrested or annulled.' (p. 188.) Sometimes he assumes the airs of a dancing master; and informs us, that, 'in health, a variety of operations are carried on in various circles of movement, under different figures or forms of action,' (206.); and that 'a change in the rhythm of movement is the first visible step of action, or even supposable step of action, arising from the operation of the causes of fever,' (191). Then he plays the part of a teacher of music; and, comparing the human body to the instruments of his profession, describes 'the scale of health,' 'the key of movement;' and shews us, that the movement of health, 'though various, is in unison in the parts and in the whole;' but that 'the modes in the scale of perverted rhythm, or diseased action, appear to be various, and the measure of the movement is different. In some it is rapid, in others it is slow' (206.); and 'that means, which tune to harmony in one case, loosen the cords of life in another.' Now he takes up the tools of the joiner, and frames debility into 'the primary hinge of action in febrile diseases' (190.), and bleeding into 'the cardinal hinge of medical means' (231); or he borrows the brush and pallet of the painter, to pourtray 'the various shades,' 'the variety of configuration,' and 'the outlines of general character,' of disease. Again, he resorts to the terms of mili-

tary art, observing that, 'previous to restoring the natural harmony of movement, it is often necessary to arrest the irregular course of the existing motions, in order to bring back, with greater facility and certainty, the form of the rhythm which has been lost; in the same manner as it is often necessary to cause a military column to halt, when moving incorrectly, so that it may more easily lay hold of the regular cadence of the step' (230). And, finally, to crown this climax of absurdity, he calls to his aid the science of the bombardier, talks of the 'explosions' of the excitability of the system, and assures us, that in vitiated atmospheres 'febrile motions do not ordinarily explode with force' (199.); and that 'there is evidently a point of explosive revolution in the animal machine, connected with time; but not connected with it by a fixed and invariable law, as measured by the artificial hour' (331).

One passage more we shall take the liberty of subjoining, as affording a specimen of the author's happy talent for fine writing and elegant illustration.

'If the apparent debility of fevers be a proper specific action, and not the expression of the effect of a preceding operation, *viz.* the perverted or disturbed rhythm of movement, the event is totally inexplicable. Without supernatural aid, the machine must rest for ever; for debility stands here like a cart before the horse. In this position arose the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, like a fairy queen, to put the wheel in motion. The *vis medicatrix naturæ* is a loose term; but it is supposed to consist in a power given to the animal machine, not explicable by the common laws of its mechanism, to raise efforts to combat the action of the causes of diseases, and to avert their destructive tendency. It is thus a species of provisional power; and, as such, proceeding from wisdom which cannot err, it cannot be supposed to be otherwise than perfect.' p. 204, 5.

The varieties and causes of fever naturally arrest our author's attention. With singular infelicity of language, he terms epidemic disease, when it assumes a malignant form, 'a *manufacture* from Nature's storehouse;' and conjectures, that 'when widely extended, it must be supposed to depend upon some hidden derangement in the materials of the earth,—on a movement of parts into new contact, giving out a new or unusual product.' (221.) The operation of contagion he deems to be of a stimulant nature, 'loosening, in an inexplicable manner, the hinges of organization.' (p. 225.) And here we find another instance of the want of systematic reasoning among physicians, who argue not from facts, but from the chimeras of their own imaginations; and, without taking the pains to examine whether the phenomena in question accord with their description, refer them indiscriminate-

ly to a system, admirable, without doubt, for the simplicity of its foundation, but deficient to an extreme in the erection and arrangement of the superstructure.

Among the remedies which Dr. Jackson recommends for restoring 'the natural rhythm of movement,' are venesection, bathing, and gestation. Reasoning from the well known consequences of bleeding in cases of obstructed circulation, Dr. Jackson, with an unparalleled degree of temerity, has inferred, that these were the general effects of the remedy; and, because the pulse was, in some cases, remarkably strengthened by evacuation, concluded that 'its effects are stimulative.'—'The idea, that abstraction is directly and unqualifiedly debilitating, and addition the contrary, could only have arisen at the table of the feast. From thence it has borrowed all its illustrations.'—(p. 235, 6.) And in support of his reasoning, he, with much sagacity remarks, 'The abstraction of blood, by its express effect, diminishes the quantity of a body to be moved; and thereby increases the power of the mover: It thus facilitates motion.' (p. 237.) But can the Doctor be so ignorant of the laws of the animal economy, as not to know, that the stimulus which excites the heart and blood vessels to proper action, is the very substance which he abstracts in order to rouse their energy; and although its removal certainly facilitates the due performance of the functions of the vascular system, when it forms congestions near to the centre of the circulation, yet this effect is to be explained in a much more simple way? But this infatuated adherent to the system of *plethora*, reasons where he should have observed; perverts the most obvious facts, in order to subject them to his own erroneous theory; and boldly recommends his rash pernicious practice to general and almost unlimited adoption. We know not in what circle the movements of Dr. Jackson's ideas are performed, but we trust that 'some remedy exists in nature's storehouse' for the cure of such mistaken judgment, and for warding off the fatal effects that would ensue, were his opinions universally received, and his example universally followed.

In his observations on the use of the cold and warm affusion in fever, Dr. Jackson, with sentiments of envy, and a spirit of illiberality which we cannot sufficiently deprecate, endeavours to detract from the well-earned reputation of Dr. Currie, and arrogates to himself the merit of having employed this efficacious remedy as early as the year 1774, although, he allows, 'the discoverers are not of this age or country.' Let Dr. Jackson, however, remember, that, according to his own ingenuous confession, he went out to Jamaica in 1774, 'at an early period of life, and

with only a small share of professional information;' and that it was not till 1778, when he first visited America in the capacity of assistant surgeon, that 'some dawnings of science' began to arise in his mind. If he employed the cold affusion so early as he pretends, the details of its effects do not, in all probability, redound very much to his credit; and these he has accordingly very prudently suppressed. We know not what specific meaning Dr. Jackson attaches to the words '*popular manner*, in which,' he says, 'the subject has been treated by Dr. Currie of Liverpool;' but we are acquainted with no book, in the whole range of medical literature, which combines, in a more eminent degree, soundness of argument, with accuracy of observation and elegance of composition, than Dr. Currie's 'Medical Reports'—a work, which we may safely recommend with the precept '*nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*,' to all future medical writers and inquirers.

Were this the proper place, we might animadvert at some length on that invidious rage, which has led so many modern authors to exalt the ancients at the expence of their own more deserving contemporaries. We doubt not, that some obscure hints of the most remarkable discoveries, which mankind have hitherto effected, may be traced in the writings of the ancients, either by direct inference, or by implication; but the authority of antiquity has long enough retarded the improvement of science; and surely the moderns ought to have their due, who have perfected the half-formed arts of their predecessors and reduced to a more rational system their crude and indigested information. It is not for the merit of the invention of the affusion of water in fever, that we commend Dr. Currie, but for the excellent rules, which he has laid down for its application, by which means a powerful remedy becomes the most effectual method of cure, while, in unskilful hands, it would only tend to aggravate the disease.

But the fact is, that the credit of the invention was never claimed by Dr. Currie, or by Dr. Wright, who preceded him in its use, and to whom the former has fully acknowledged his obligations. It was used by the latter gentleman in his own case, during his passage from the West Indies in the year 1777; and an account of his cure was published by himself in the year 1786, at least five years prior to the appearance of Dr. Jackson's first publication on fever. Both these writers (Dr. Currie and Dr. Wright) have expressly stated, that the employment of cold water in fever was no new improvement of practice, but merely the revival of an ancient custom; and in support of this assertion, they have cited the works of many ancient and modern authors. These and other considerations render to us suspicious the account

which Dr. Jackson has given of his own practice and success with this remedy. One circumstance is somewhat remarkable, that, among the first modern adopters of the affusion in fever, Dr. Jackson has (with no slight geographical inaccuracy) mentioned De Hahn as having used it at *Warsaw* in 1737. Now, Dr. de Hahn is particularised by Dr. Wright, as the employer of this remedy, at *Breslau*, * in his essay published in the year 1786, to which Dr. Jackson has made no reference, although he could not be, or ought not to have been, ignorant of its publication.

If, however, by any accident, it should happen that these two respectable writers entered the lists with Dr. Jackson, we are convinced, that they would soon yield to him all the assumed merit of the practice, as he employs it. Instead of accounting for its operation on known and rational principles, he explains it by absurd illustration, and in his uncouth phraseology. Instead of deducing from experience the laws of its adoption and regulation, he recommends it at random, and in cases, where it must prove the harbinger of death, rather than the restorer of health. How much information, for instance, do we receive from the remark, that 'bathing, like every other power in nature, acts upon the excitability of organism, and produces, more obviously than most others, an effect upon organic movement!' (p. 269.) What depth of science do not the following reflections betray! 'A thermometer only measures absolute quantity; it gives no information on the subject of quality, whether of the kind consistent with life, or of the kind which indicates the presence of a process leading to disorganization and destruction.' (p. 273.) How absurd the vulgar idea, that cold-bathing produces an abstraction of caloric! But when Dr. Jackson informs us, that it acts, 'by restoring the natural rhythm of movement in the organic structure, by the force of a new stimulus, it preserves a consistent, intelligible, and clear explanation throughout.' (p. 276.) After such observations as these, we were not much surprised to find the principles which guided the author in the use of this remedy, undecisive and contradictory, or to learn that, in his hands, it had sometimes proved unsuccessful. To prepare his patients for the cold-bath, he vomits, purges, and bleeds profusely (so as to place '*the whole moving powers upon a ticklish balance*'); employs the water as near the freezing point as possible, in the latest stages of the disease, however cold the skin, or however debilitated the patient!

In the latter part of the Appendix, the author lays claim to the merit of having first introduced a new remedy in fever, from

* London Medical Journal, VII. Part II. p. 109.

which, he asserts, much benefit may be derived, after all other medicines have failed, in accomplishing a cure; and which was first suggested to him by the good effects that resulted from a journey, which he was obliged to perform, in an open conveyance, when labouring under fever. It happened to rain heavily all the time he was upon the road, so that he was completely drenched; but at the end of the journey, he found himself considerably refreshed and invigorated. These effects he afterwards had an opportunity of seeing exemplified in a considerable portion of the sick of his regiment, when conveyed from one station to another, in the manner above described, and 'exposed to dews by night, to a scorching sun by day, and to occasional showers of rain.' Reasoning from these facts, the Doctor very gravely recommends, that patients in the last stage of fever should be carried, for the space of six or eight hours at a time, in open carts, over rough roads, through woods or lawns, and, at the same time, bled, soused with water, and bled again!

We shall now take leave of Dr. Jackson and his *gestatory* plan of cure. Were his ideas likely to gain universal adoption, we should have entered much more fully into their refutation: but fortunately they are so enveloped in the obscurity of language, that only a select few can comprehend and measure their depth; although this very circumstance may prove a recommendation to some, whose intellects are placed in the same 'key of movement' with the author's, and who, possessing all his enthusiastic spirit, may be led to practice his rash and injudicious precepts.

ART. XIV. *Sermons.* By William Laurence Brown, D. D. Principal of Marischal College and University; Professor of Divinity and Minister of Grey-Friar's Church, Aberdeen. Edinburgh and London. 8vo. pp. 491. 1803.

THE composition of sermons was one of the first exercises of the reviving literature of Christendom; and it has ever since supplied occupation to a greater number of authors than all the other departments of learning put together. The multitude of labourers, however, has not yet brought this field into so perfect a state of cultivation as might have been expected; and innumerable volumes have been published upon the same subjects, without fixing any unexceptionable standard for the distribution of the arguments, or the regulation of the style. Among the other obvious causes that concurred to retard the improvement of this branch of composition, we know that, in the Presbyterian

churches, there formerly prevailed an opinion that divine truths did not require the decorations of human eloquence, and that it was a sort of profanation to waste any care upon the manner, when the matter was of such awful importance. In those days of zeal and orthodoxy, however, the matter was seriously laboured; and if we are frequently offended with the slovenly style of our older preachers, we are almost as often delighted with the vigour of their reasonings, and the earnestness of their exhortations. Of late, our language has become sufficiently polished: and we are never disgusted with that kind of harshness, at least, which proceeds from conciseness or strength. Every thing is delivered, too, with the most exemplary coolness and moderation: the preacher retains a perfect command of himself throughout the whole performance, and never runs the risk of betraying his readers into any improper degree of emotion. Whether this change be owing to any general mollification of the clerical temperament, or only to the alteration of their taste, and whether we are to impute the prevailing character of our modern sermons to a defect of zeal and industry in their authors, or to a predilection for smooth and elegant phraseology, we do not presume to determine. It will be generally allowed, we believe, that those sermons are the best which unite the polish of the modern school with the strength and solidity of the old.

The volume before us, which, with a singular degree of liberality, is inscribed by a Presbyterian Professor of Divinity to the first dignitary of the Church of England, appears to us to be a very respectable attempt at the union of which we have been speaking. The discourses contain a greater portion of earnest and substantial reasoning than we have generally met with in similar publications; and the language throughout is pure, nervous, and harmonious. The subjects, which are almost entirely of a practical nature, appear to be judiciously selected, and the duties of which they treat are explained with perspicuity, and enforced with great earnestness and address.

The first sermon, which treats of 'the duty and character of a Christian preacher,' specifies, in the first place, the nature of the instructions which a preacher should deliver; and then delineates, in a very striking manner, the character which he should endeavour to maintain.

With regard to the first of these, the Doctor says, p. 5.

'While we preach *Christ Jesus the Lord*, it is therefore absurd to suppose that we should be unmindful of the principles of natural religion, which are implied in the divine mission of *the Author and Finisher of our Faith*, or that, in illustrating these, and enforcing moral duties, we preach not the gospel of Christ. Consider how much of our Saviour's discourses, and of the epistles of his apostles, is employed in in-

culcating the purest principles of morality, and in preparing men for heaven by rendering them virtuous on earth; you will find that one principal object of the Gospel is to restore that image of God which had been defaced in the soul of man; to renew that purity of heart and rectitude of conduct of which the world had lost even the conception, and neither Pagan philosophers, nor Jewish prophets, had ever been able to produce the resemblance among their disciples.

'This very consideration, however, must constantly remind us of the infinite importance of the doctrines peculiar to Christianity, and of the distinctive and appropriate character of its precepts. When we reflect that, for our guilty race, the chief point is, not merely to be *informed*, but also to be *saved*, how fruitless, how vain, how devoid of comfort, are the most ingenious and accurate researches into the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being, and the relation which man bears to his Creator, unless they be accompanied with the positive assurance of pardon, and restored favour! How useless, how mortifying are the most beautiful precepts of morality, attended with the reflection that they only establish our guilt and degradation! When we tremble to look to eternity, how dismal is the certainty of a future state! Those very informations and rules of life which, to creatures, either innocent, or reconciled to their offended Creator, are productive of comfort and complacency, become, to those who feel themselves in a state of condemnation, subjects of aversion and terror. Is not the criminal more alarmed, when he is informed of the specific sanctions of the law which he has violated, and of the just and steady character of the Judge by whom he must be condemned?'

The duties of morality, enforced by the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, ought certainly to be regarded by the Christian divine as entitled to occupy a very large proportion of his public discourses. We have been surprised at the senseless cry, which has sometimes been raised against preaching the duties of morality, as if morality were something opposed to the Gospel of Christ. The Scriptures assuredly contain a system of the purest morality, and no preacher discharges his duty who neglects to enforce it. At the same time, we equally agree with our author in the importance of the doctrines peculiar to Christianity. While it is of great moment to inculcate the duties of morality, they ought always to be inculcated on Christian principles. A Christian preacher should never conceal the peculiarities of Christianity, nor, in teaching men their duty, should he neglect the motives which his religion so amply furnishes. The difference between a minister of Christ and a disciple of Socrates, would not, in many cases, be so great in the conduct which they would recommend, as in the motives which they would suggest: here indeed the Christian has infinitely the advantage, and he ought to avail himself of it.

The second and third sermons are on 'the love of God,' and the joy and peace which result from believing and practising the

Gospel. These two discourses illustrate some of the affections which religion commands us to cherish; and we are pleased to see a preacher of sound judgement engage in the discussion of topics which have been so often perverted by the unskilful. While judicious and acute men have sometimes explained the doctrines, and often inculcated the duties of religion, it has been left, too generally, to enthusiasts to describe religious affections and feelings. Few things, we believe, have tended more to the general discredit of religion, than that men of sound understandings should so often appear to discard all feeling from their system; and should have left it to be assumed as the peculiar property, and distinguishing characteristic of bigoted or designing men. When almost all the popular topics, and all the warmth and activity are found on one hand, and dry discussion conducted with a coolness, easily mistaken for indifference, on the other, is it surprising that the multitude should flock to the fanatics and enthusiasts? The enemies of religion, besides, avail themselves of this circumstance: they impute the irregularities of such men to religion itself, and allege the coolness of others as a proof of insincerity. If rational preachers would infuse a little more spirit into their discourses, and not treat their hearers quite so much as if they were beings of pure intellect, we are inclined to think that there would be fewer enthusiasts. Extremes produce extremes; immoderate zeal has led to indifference; and indifference has increased the zeal with which it is contrasted. The fanaticism which, at one time, prevailed in England, led the bulk of the clergy in that country into a studied coolness, which had all the appearance of indifference; and their coolness, in its turn, occasioned the unmeaning rant of the modern Methodists. There is some reason to apprehend that similar causes may produce similar effects in our own part of the island, where the people are not naturally inclined to any great excess of devotional ardour.

Religion has sometimes been represented as unfavourable to the enjoyment of life: in the following passages, this sentiment is refuted, and the superior excellence of religious joy maintained, with much justness, and with much eloquence.

'So far is an implicit conformity to the dictates of our religion from being inconsistent with a proper care of worldly concerns, that, if we had no higher aim in view than merely to promote, or to secure, our temporal interests, we could hardly pursue a safer and more certain course, than a scrupulous observance of the rules prescribed by Christianity, for conducting us to future happiness. To increase or to preserve a fortune, what better means could we employ, than Christian diligence and honesty? To rise to preferment and honour, what so efficacious as that inflexible integrity, that cheerful and ready submission to lawful superiors, that affable condescension to inferiors, that meekness

and complaisance towards all, which the Gospel enjoins? To ensure good will, to maintain a character, to acquire reputation, could we adopt a better plan, than to cultivate Christian prudence and fortitude, joined with Christian rectitude and charity; or, as our Saviour beautifully and emphatically expresses it, than to be *wise as serpents, and harmless as doves?* In fine, if our sole object were to preserve health, to prolong life, or even to give a true relish to sensual enjoyment, could we follow any better course, than to practise Christian activity in business, in conjunction with Christian moderation and temperance?'—'These are joys pure and substantial, suited to the dignity of the rational nature, independent of our brutal part. These can never be carried to excess, never succeeded by corroding reflection. Pleasing once, they please and delight us for ever. Those, neither birth, nor external events, nor the dispositions of men, nor disease, nor age, can affect. They attend us in society, and forsake us not in solitude. When enemies persecute us, they inspire us with courage, and endue us with strength. When false friends abandon us, they remain. They solace adversity, and enhance and adorn prosperous circumstances. They lighten the burdens of life, and disarm death of his terrors! Compared with these, affluence is poor, grandeur is contemptible, sensual pleasure is disgusting. External circumstances are appropriated to no inherent dignity of character, and are often the means of debasing it. But religious and moral enjoyments are the peculiar privileges of the wise and good, who are not excluded from their share of worldly possessions, and can enjoy them with the highest relish. Still, should these be withheld, supported by their internal resources, by conscious integrity, by the exhilarating sense of the Divine favour, and by the glorious prospect of a blessed immortality, the piously wise must, even in adversity and affliction, be possessed of a more abundant store of happiness than can belong to the impious and the wicked, placed on the summit of power, basking in the sunshine of prosperity, and resounding the loudest strains of dissolute mirth. Like a rock lowering above the deep, the man of piety and virtue beholds the storm of calamity roar around him, without shaking his resolution, or impairing his strength. When the tempest assails those of a contrary character, they are tossed, like the sand, from surge to surge, and, when the calm returns, sink under the weight of their own adversity.

Sermon fourth, 'On the Nature, Causes, and Effects of Indifference with regard to Religion,' was preached before the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and published originally at their desire. It is written in so masterly a manner, that if the learned author had published nothing more, it would have been enough to establish his character as no ordinary preacher. The nature of this indifference is distinguished with great precision, from moderation on the one hand, and the total want of religious principle on the other: the causes and effects of this spirit are traced with equal clearness; and several

considerations added, which are well calculated to put Christians on their guard against it.

The fifth Sermon is 'on the Folly of Procrastination with regard to the Concerns of Religion;' the sixth is 'on the Vanity of Religion, unless considered as the chief good, and accompanied with Zeal and Perseverance;' the seventh is 'on the Nature, the Effects, and the Rewards of Perseverance in Religion;' the eighth is on 'the Progressive Nature of Religion in the Soul.' The next three sermons are 'on the Specific Qualities of Prudence and Simplicity,' the union of these qualities, and the motives to cultivate them. On each of these topics the reader will find much useful matter, stated with accuracy and discrimination. Three discourses follow 'on Agur's Prayer,' in which the author describes the happiness of a mind open to the conviction of truth, and attached to duty, the temptations and dangers of opulence and exalted station, and the temptations and dangers of poverty, with the happiness of the middle condition. Some of these are subjects upon which declaimers have enlarged with peculiar complacency; and on the temptations and vices of the great and prosperous, many a lofty moralist has made himself popular at little cost. In these discourses, the dangers of opulence and of poverty are stated with equal impartiality, and in a manner judicious and manly, without any aid of fanciful embellishment.

In the next discourse, 'Pride' is very accurately distinguished from vanity, and from that becoming self-estimation which is often necessary to our protection from insult. The grounds of pride are examined in another discourse; and birth, titles, offices, riches, corporeal advantages, and mental endowments, are clearly shown to afford no sufficient reason for this temper. The next discourse is on the nature and effects of 'Humility,' which forms a very proper contrast to the subject of the two preceding sermons. The last sermon is on 'Charity,' and was preached before a Society instituted for the Relief of the Sick Poor. The text is '*Charity never faileth;*' and the author takes occasion to show, that, while many gifts bestowed on men, and high attainments reached by them, shall cease with this life, charity shall continue and flourish in another state; and from its unfailing nature, he powerfully urges the exercise of it. From considering the nature of charity in general, he easily passes to that exercise of it which consists in relieving the necessitous, and thus strongly recommends the interests of that Society for which he pleads.

'Ye who enjoy every convenience and comfort of life! to whom, when you are laid on a bed of sickness, every soothing aid, every help of medicine, every relief that money or tenderness can supply, are pro-

vided; reflect how you endured the pains and languors of disease, though mitigated and softened by all that human art or kindness could devise! Did you happen to be removed from your abode when some severe and dangerous malady assailed you, how were you overwhelmed by the absence of domestic charity and convenience? But the poor man has no home for sickness! Health is necessary to procure him ordinary comfort, is necessary to provide him and his family with the means of daily subsistence. *Laid on the bed of languishing*, perhaps on the bed of death, he beholds his wife and children disconsolate around him. They can present to him none of the cordials and supports of sickness; for his interrupted labour deprives them of the staff of life. His distress and theirs are unknown to the ear of opulence. The rich, or those who employ him, recognise him only by the price of his labour. When fixed to a sick-bed, which serves rather to augment than to alleviate his malady, he ceases to attend his work, he ceases also to be present to their minds. Another comes, occupies his place, receives the wages he used to earn—and the sick man is forgotten! Disease continues to prey upon his frame till he expires! He is consigned to the grave, of difficult purchase, and to oblivion; or is remembered only by the beggary of his family, often accounted importunate and troublesome!'—'But, do not you then rejoice, that a Society exists under the title of *The Sick Man's Friend*, whose object is to penetrate into the recesses of misery, to discover the sick poor, of whatever religious sect or party they may be, and to afford them every relief which charity can supply? Do you not rejoice, that, without encroaching on your ordinary business, abridging your pleasures, or diminishing in any perceptible degree your stores, you may heal or alleviate the diseases of your poorer brethren, by contributing a small portion of your superabundance? Will you not, then, command that portion to speed, under the management of faithful men, to the habitations of the poor and the diseased, to supply the strengthening cordial to the sick heart, to administer the cooling potion to the feverish frame, to mitigate the convulsive pangs of acute distemper, and even to smooth the bed of death. p. 458.

In perusing some of these discourses, we have been disposed to wish that the inferior divisions or parts had been more distinctly marked. We have no desire to see a discourse split down into an intricate variety of divisions and subdivisions; this would generally be absurd, and could seldom be useful; but where topics, necessarily distinct, are introduced, it unquestionably rouses the attention, and assists the memory, to find them distinctly announced. In the ninth and tenth sermons, for example, the effects resulting from the union of prudence and simplicity, and the motives to cultivate them, are pointed out in a very masterly manner; yet, though several distinct topics are introduced under each of these heads, none of them is formally stated. This, we are persuaded,

while it has no influence on the unity of the discourses, must diminish their impression. The unity of a discourse is destroyed, we apprehend, by crowding a variety of subjects into it, and not by clearly distinguishing the different parts of the same subject. Fashion, we are aware, may perhaps be pleaded against us, though we believe Dr. Brown would scorn to avail himself of such an authority; but we cannot permit fashion to decide against utility. She may be allowed to regulate the furniture of the circulating libraries; but it will be as well, perhaps, that she be not much consulted in the composition of sermons.

From the extracts which we have given, our readers may be able to judge with regard to the style of these discourses: it is well suited to the nature of the subjects, easy, flowing, and dignified; it never sinks to meanness; it is never turgid: the author states his sentiments with precision, and enforces them with animation; he never forgets the importance of his subject, nor suffers his readers to forget it; he always conceives clearly what he intends to express, and is never at a loss for appropriate expressions to convey his meaning. He has very much enriched his discourses by an abundant use of the language of Scripture, which he has applied with much felicity, and often employed to express his own sentiments, in a manner that gives much dignity to the style.

We cannot avoid observing, that too little attention appears to have been bestowed on the mechanical part of this publication, and that the author has suffered his compositions to meet the public eye under the disadvantage of many gross typographical errors. These we hope to see removed in a second edition; and on a further revision of his work, Dr. Brown will probably discover that these are not the only errors which require correction. Where there is so much to praise, we feel the more anxious for the purification of his style from those slighter faults and inaccuracies by which it is occasionally degraded; and we are fully confident that the exercise of his own taste will enable him to exhibit his work in a state still more unexceptionable.

ART. XV. *A Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, and Merdhin; with Specimens of the Poems.* By Sharon Turner, F. A. S. London. Williams, Strand. 1803. 8vo. pp. 284.

THE predilection of the Welsh for the antiquities of their native country, and the jealous eye with which they still regard the interference of a *Saxon* in this sacred subject, are so notorious, that we are strongly inclined to indulge a suspicious smile at their allowing Mr. Turner to anticipate themselves in vindicating the genuineness of their most ancient and favourite bards. No doubt can be entertained, that many of the Welsh antiquaries are infinitely superior in point of knowledge and zeal to Mr. Turner: if, then, the cause which he has undertaken had, in their opinion, been tenable, can we suppose that they would have so long endured the scoffs of unbelievers, and at last have permitted a stranger to enter the lists, and bear off the prize? We are therefore reduced to the necessity of supposing that Mr. Turner possesses zeal, without their knowledge and prudence. Although, however, the Welsh antiquaries have not come directly forward on this important occasion, yet one of the most distinguished of them has given his sanction to Mr. Turner's work so directly and strongly, that they must share in his disgrace if he fail in his attempt, without being able to claim any of the honour if he succeed.*

Mr. Turner need not have informed his readers, that he had applied only some part of the leisure of the summer to the consideration of this question; since the total want of arrangement, argument, and correct composition, sufficiently proves his work to have been a hasty performance. It has, indeed, many of the external marks of a methodical and logical treatise; the proposition is formally stated: the evidence is 'divided into two sorts, the external and the internal' (16.); and there are eight divisions, besides subdivisions without number, under each 'sort' of evidence. All this looks as if Mr. Turner intended, when he began his work, that it should be clear, systematical, and full, even if he could not make it convincing or satisfactory. But he tasked himself beyond his powers. Some of the divisions, which are laid down in the beginning of his work, are entirely omitted in the elucidation of the evidence; and those which are noticed, occur in a very different order. This defect, however, we might have endured; or perhaps we might have endeavoured to remedy it

* Owen's Cambrian Biography. Pref. p. 5.

by a different arrangement, if the matter had appeared worth the trouble. But we do not remember ever to have met with any thing dignified with the name of evidence, which bore so little resemblance to authority or argument. As we have neither time nor patience to examine, separately, the innumerable divisions of external and internal evidence, we shall select a few, and arrange them with more regard to method and order than Mr. Turner has discovered. We shall not, however, insult the understandings of our readers, by entering into a formal and direct refutation; but, in some instances, shall merely state the substance of Mr. Turner's evidence, and, in no instance, offer more than general remarks.

We shall begin with the proposition, that Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, and Merdhin, were British bards, who lived in the sixth century; which is the sixth in the order of examination (109.), and the fourth in the order in which they are laid down in the beginning of the work (17). The testimony of Nennius is first adduced (115). Mr. Turner observes, 'that Gale places him in the seventh century; he may have belonged to the ninth.' Now, the author of the history attributed to Nennius wrote, as he expressly informs us in his preface, in 858,* and consequently is very insufficient authority for the existence of bards in the sixth century. But, *secondly*, the passage alluded to is not in the printed copy: it is found only in one MS.; and the very style and contents of the whole chapter in which the passage occurs, prove it to have been the addition of a different, and, most probably, a later writer. And, *thirdly*, the passage, as it stands, mentions no bard but Taliesin: 'Item, Talhearn Talanguen in poemate claruit, et Nuevin, & Taliesin, & Bluchbar, & Cian qui vocatur Gueinanguant, simul uno tempore in poemate Britannico floruerunt.' Hence, allowing that Nennius wrote in the seventh century, and that this passage is really genuine, still we must grant Mr. Turner another favour before it can be of much advantage to him. By the assistance of Mr. Evans he changes Nuevin into Aneurin, and Bluchbar into Llywarch. So that Mr. Turner merely requests his reader to allow him to fix the æra of an author; to attribute to him, on the slight authority of one MS., a chapter not found in the other MSS., and very different in style and matter; and to alter the words as he pleases;—and then he undertakes to prove his proposition.

This is not the only instance in which Mr. Turner has recourse to MSS. which have been rejected by the editors, whom, how-

* Nennius apud Gale, I. 94. Nicholson, however, is inclined to place him in 828. Eng. Histor. Librar. p. 33. 3d Edit. fol.

ever, we must suppose to have been more impartial and competent judges than himself. In a MS. of the laws of Howel Dha, he finds some lines cited and ascribed to Taliesin; and these he brings forward in evidence, without stating on what grounds he considers this MS. as more correct and genuine than the others; and not in the least startled at meeting with a quotation from a poet in a book of laws,—and that quotation so little to the purpose, and so awkwardly introduced, that it bears every mark of an interpolation.

We imagine that the credibility of that notorious fabulist, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the genuineness of the Welsh triads, ought to be established, before they can with any propriety be introduced as unexceptionable and satisfactory evidence. (119—135).

We shall now turn back to the first division of the external evidence—that there are old MSS. existing of these poems, (21.); which merely amounts to this, that there are 'two, if not three, ancient MSS. extant, which have no appearance of having been written later than the twelfth century,' (24.) And this very guarded and very vague position does not rest on the authority of Mr. Turner. He does not appear to have examined these MSS. himself;—he does not even mention the qualifications or names of those to whose examination he has trusted; nor state the evidence which is supposed to prove their antiquity: He merely says, he understands (27.) he is informed (28.) he is assured (29.) that they are ancient. It is unnecessary to *expose* the weakness of this evidence. In pages 37—87, he endeavours to prove, that Aneurin, Taliesin, &c. and their works, 'have been mentioned or alluded to by a series of bards, whose works still exist, undisputed, from before the twelfth century to a recent period. The disbelievers in the genuineness of the poems attributed to the bards of the sixth century, maintain, that they were forged in the twelfth century. They ground their opinion on two undisputed facts,—that the Welsh do not pretend to possess the works of any bards between the sixth and the eleventh or twelfth centuries, and that all the Welsh MSS. appear to have been written in the twelfth century. Mr. Turner, imagining that the Welsh had unguardedly granted too much, contends (269), that there are small poems still extant, which were written in the seventh, eighth, and tenth centuries; but as he has offered no arguments in support of their genuineness, we must beg leave not only to object to them as authorities on the present subject, but also to suspect *their* antiquity. There are, however, six notices, 'taken from poems which, according to the consent of the best Welsh critics, were written before the twelfth century.'

(37—39.) These notices prove, merely, that the names of Taliesin, Merdhin, Llywarch, Avaon, and Kennyd, and short proverbial sentences attributed to them, floated on the breath of tradition; but by no means that their poems were then written, or even in existence. On the contrary, the very expression, 'Hast thou not *heard* what Llywarch sang—Greet kindly, though there be no acquaintance,' sufficiently points out what parts of the poems of this bard were preserved, and how they were preserved. The other notices are exactly of the same kind, and expressed in the same manner.

It is now necessary to turn from the 39th to the 112th page, where, in perfect consistency with the total want of arrangement of the work, the remaining part of this division of the external evidence is considered. Giraldus Cambrensis is cited; and his evidence is said to be complete and decisive. In one passage he expressly says, that, in the twelfth century, the Cambrian bards, and singers or reciters, have the genealogy of their princes written in their ancient and authentic books in Welsh. The poems of the bards are not mentioned; yet Mr. Turner affirms that 'he speaks of the genealogies but as a *part* of the contents of these ancient and authentic books.' In the other passage, the words of Giraldus are, 'Rex Angliæ Henricus Secundus, sicut ab historico cantore Britone audiverat antiquo.'—Mr. Turner hence infers, 'that the ancient British had historical singers, that is, ancient bards who had left historical poems, which, in the days of Henry the Second, were deemed ancient, and referred to; and which, therefore, must have been some centuries old in that age.' (144.) Cannot Mr. Turner perceive that the words expressly declare, that King Henry had *heard* (concerning Arthur) from an *ancient British bard?*

After these specimens of Mr. Turner's commentary and arguments, which are not selected, and are even surpassed in almost every page, it surely is not necessary to examine, or even state any other passages, which he has adduced in support of this part of the external evidence. We may, however, remark, that the entire silence of Giraldus Cambrensis, a writer who is so very full and particular in every thing relative to Wales, and seems to have possessed considerable knowledge as well as zeal, renders it extremely probable, that in his time (about 1200) there were no poems of an ancient date, either traditional or written. In one passage, indeed, he refers to the prophecies of Merdhin, and declares that he had translated them into Latin. But Mr. Turner considers the prophetic works ascribed to Merdhin, which have come down to us, as unquestionably either interpolated or surreptitious, (149.) How then can this passage of Giraldus prove

the existence of the genuine poems of Merdhin in the twelfth century; or apply, with any propriety or force, to the only poem of this bard, at present allowed to be genuine, the Avallenau, which the historian never mentions?

In p. 197, Mr. Turner maintains that the obscure and unintelligible passages, which abound in the poems of Taliesin, &c. are a strong presumptive evidence that they are genuine. If Mr. Turner will turn back to p. 164, he will there find, that he leaves to 'its fate' the mystical, unintelligible poetry of Taliesin, and considers as genuine only his historical elegies, and his poems on Urien and Elphin: In other words, he gives up the defence of those, which bear the most unequivocal marks of antiquity, and selects as genuine, only those which, according to his own criterion, are destitute of them.

In page 136, he affirms that the Britons had the use of letters in the sixth century. It is evident that, unless by this he meant that the Welsh was a written language, at that period, he will have gained nothing by proving his point. But, so far from having been able to substantiate what he must have meant, he has not adduced even the shadow of an argument in support of what he has actually said. Several Latin inscriptions (of which, however, he notices only two, both the work of one man) have been found in Wales, of the date of the sixth century. How totally destitute of judgment must that man be, who can from this circumstance infer, that the Britons had the use of letters at that æra, or that, because a Welsh ecclesiastic could then write Latin, therefore the Welsh was a written language!—It may be observed, that, according to the very nature of the bardic system, it would neither be necessary nor desirable, that their poems should be committed to writing; and, in all probability, *they were not*, till the profession became less numerous, when it would be necessary to preserve in writing, what recitation or tradition could no longer sufficiently spread or secure from oblivion*. On the contrary, the laws of a country would present the strongest claim to be first committed in written language; and accordingly, the oldest indisputably genuine work in Welsh, is Howel Dha's Laws, of the tenth century.

We shall now proceed to consider some parts of the internal evidence produced by Mr. Turner: and here, the same confusion and imbecility of understanding are discovered. The mind of the reader is never exercised, even in detecting sophistry; but

* Mr. Turner himself informs us (History of the Anglo-Saxons, I. 196.) that 'the bardic doctrines were orally communicated from bard to bard.'

is perpetually wearied in arranging and unravelling, what, after all the labour bestowed upon it, is always devoid of ingenuity, and sometimes even inconsistent with itself.

One of his most forcible arguments is, 'that the subjects of these ancient poems were the most unlikely of all others for a forger to have chosen' (153.) These poems, in general, record the defeats of the Britons. This very circumstance Mr. Turner, by a strange perversion of intellect, considers as a proof that they were written by bards who lived at the time of these defeats; whereas, most of his readers, we imagine, will consider it as a strong presumptive proof that they were written six centuries after these defeats, and not at the very period in which they happened. Mr. Turner is of opinion that a forger would not have chosen the disasters and subjugation of his countrymen for the subjects of his poems: But what other subjects could he consistently have chosen, if he wished his poems to be attributed to bards in the sixth century, at which period it was well known to the contemporaries of the forger, that the bards, if they sung of battles, must have recorded the disgrace and disasters of the Britons?—The manner in which Arthur is spoken of in these ancient poems, Mr. Turner considers as another proof, that they could not have been written in the twelfth century. According to Mr. Turner's own account, it was in the twelfth century that Arthur's fame acquired a 'gigantic shape'; and he seems to consider the history of Geoffrey as having first given it this magnitude. Hence, in direct opposition to Mr. Turner, we would infer, that a forger, of the least skill or knowledge, would not represent Arthur, in poems which he wished to be attributed to the sixth century, as that romantic and fabulous character which he was not supposed to have been, till the publication of Geoffrey's history.

Among other 'traits of genuineness' in these poems, on which Mr. Turner descants for thirty pages, without ever betraying any mark of ingenuity, there is one which we do not hesitate to consider as a strong 'trait' of forgery. Merdhin, according to the Welsh traditions, was subject to fits of insanity during the latter part of his life; and, while he was in that situation, he is said to have composed his Avallenau. 'He retired into a Caledonian wood, in which, at lucid intervals, he deplored his misery.'* We shall pass over the improbability, that such a madman would amuse himself with composing poems; and the much greater improbability, that if he did compose poems in this Caledonian wood, and uttered

* Turner's Anglo-Saxons, I. 205.

them in the hearing of many persons, they would think the ravings of a madman worthy of being committed to memory.—We shall even suppose, that these circumstances did take place; or that Merdhin, in his lucid intervals, came out of his retirement, and wrote his poems: Surely even Mr. Turner's credulity will not desire more from us.—Let us now consider the 'trait of genuineness.'—In Merdhin's Avallenau, there is also much display of natural feelings appropriate to his character. The allusion to his insanity is interesting:

> 'I myself am a wild horrible screamer—
> I am pierced with horrors—I am
> Covered by no raiment!' p. 192.

We merely ask, is it in the least consistent with the known character of madmen, that they should, in their lucid intervals, speak of their calamtiy? Does not this very passage, at least, render it very probable that the poem is a forgery? It is much more likely that a forger should be so forgetful, or so ignorant of human nature, as to introduce this passage, than that Merdhin should differ so essentially from all others in his situation.

When we first read over the divisions of the internal evidence, we were particularly struck with the sixth—'That the historical allusions of the Welsh bards are true.' After having seen in what manner Mr. Turner treated the other divisions, our curiosity was excited to examine this important position, which certainly affords opportunity for considerable ingenuity and research. But there is not even the semblance of either. At the same time, we return our thanks to Mr. Turner for his conciseness, and for having given his proof so nearly in a syllogistic form, that, by simply stating the substance of it exactly in that form, we can save our readers from the trouble of following us through a tedious exposition of its weakness.

> 'Geoffrey is esteemed by the world a "fabler:"
> But the Welsh bards are very unlike Geoffrey, and sometimes contradict him:
> Therefore, the poems of the Welsh bards are genuine and authentic.' (199.)

The entire silence of the Saxon Chronicle, respecting all the battles recorded by the Welsh bards, especially the battle of Cattereth, which is represented, in the Gododin, as having been so extremely fatal to the Britons, that of the three hundred and sixty-three nobles who were engaged, only three survived it,—and the mention, in that Chronicle, of battles not nearly so destructive or disgraceful to the Britons which were fought in the same century, present a formidable objection to the genuineness of the poems, which Mr. Turner has not even noticed.

In p. 250, Mr. Turner considers the 'chief objections urged against these poems.' It is not our intention to examine his replies separately or minutely.* With regard to the first objection, 'that rime was not known to Europe in the sixth century, and therefore these rimed Welsh poems could not have been composed at that period,' we never considered it as decisive, or even very formidable; since rime may have existed in the Welsh some centuries before it had been attempted in other languages, especially in the languages of those nations which were unconnected with the Welsh. Mr. Turner, however, has enumerated eleven authors, between the sixth century and the ninth, in whose writings rime occurs; and has traced it back even to St. Austin, in the fourth century. If the objection from the use of rime by the Welsh bards be stated in another form, we think it would be much more powerful. There are extant two poems in the Anglo-Saxon; one written by Cædmon, in the seventh century; the other anonymous, composed in the tenth, on the battle of Brunanburgh; † neither of which exhibits any

* We have carefully examined Mr. Turner's two essays on the early use of the rime in the Archæologia, (vol. XIV. 168-204.), to which he refers, p. 251. They confirm the opinion, that rime originated with the monks; and that it was transferred from their Latin poems into the modern languages. If the Latin borrowed it from the Gothic or Celtic, as Mr. Turner supposes, how shall we account for its existence in the Latin poems of Aldheim, A. D. 700, an Anglo-Saxon bishop; whereas, two centuries afterwards, it is not found in the song, written in the vernacular tongue, on a popular subject, the battle of Brunanburgh? It is so extremely difficult to avoid rime in the Latin language, from the numerous corresponding terminations of its nouns and verbs, that, instead of considering the few instances produced by Mr. Turner in his second essay, as intentional, we are astonished at the extreme care which the classical writer must have taken to prevent the frequent recurrence of rime. But, as the monks were utterly devoid of taste, and excessively indolent, they would consider the facility of riming, which the Latin language presented to them, as a beauty and an advantage; and accordingly substitute it, instead of inversion and metrical feet. The rimes, of which modern languages are susceptible, are comparatively so few, that it is very improbable that this mode of composition originated in them. They are continued in modern languages, not, as Mr. Turner maintains, because they are natural to them, but because they produce greater satisfaction from being less easy and obvious. *Laing's Scotland*, I. 525.

† There are three copies of Cædmon's poem—in Hickes Thesaur. I. 197.—Whelock's Anglo-Saxon Bede, p. 597.—and in Wanley's

appearance of rime. Now, as the use of rime must have greatly facilitated the remembrance of the latter poem, which evidently appears to have been composed for the purpose of being committed to memory, at a time when few could write or read; it is extremely probable, that if rime had been so long and generally in use among their neighbours the Welsh, the Anglo-Saxons would have adopted it in their poetry, especially where the subject and the intention of the poems were the same in both languages.

Mr. Turner has clearly proved that Giraldus Cambrensis expressly mentions rimed songs in the twelfth century, in the very passage which has been produced to show that he was not acquainted with rime. In 'cantilenis rythmicis et dictamine tam subtiles inveniuntur,' &c. *rythmicis* is evidently the adjective agreeing with *cantilenis*, and not a substantive; and, even if it be considered as a substantive, it will not bear the meaning which the objector has given it, since it never signifies 'verses.'

Mr. Turner replies to the objection, that no poems occur between the sixth and the twelfth century, 1. By taking for granted the genuineness of poems attributed to the intermediate centuries: 2. By proving, principally from the suspicious testimony of the Welsh triads, that bards existed during that period: and 3. By illustrating, at great length, the *profound* and *original* observation, 'that the ravages of time are capricious, and that similar chasms occur in the literary history of other countries.' (269.) We apprehend, that the simple statement of such modes of proof, is a sufficient exposition of their weakness.

Of the style of this work we should have said nothing, if Mr. Turner had not rendered it necessary, by holding it forth as a proof of his 'reformation,' in this respect, since he wrote his history. He exhibits the same kind of reformation, of which that man might boast who should throw off his gaudy and fantastic dress, and appear before the public covered with rags, and bespattered with dirt. Most people, we imagine would prefer his former mode of exhibiting himself; as it would, at least, be the source of occasional amusement; whereas his reformed dress could only sicken and disgust. We 'submit,' therefore, (to use a favourite expression of our author's), that when he again appears before the public, he should resume his former style; since, of the two evils, to one of which his readers must be exposed, they would certainly consider it as the least offensive.

Antiq. Liter. Septen. p. 287. The poem on the battle of Brunanburgh, is given by Gibson in his Saxon Chronicle, and by Johnstone in his Antiq. Celto-Scandicæ.

ART. XVI. *Travels through France, Turkey, and Hungary, in* 1792; *to which are added, Several Tours in Hungary in* 1799 *and* 1800. *In a Series of Letters to his sister in England.* By William Hunter, Esq. of the Inner-Temple. Third Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 937. London. White. 1803.

THERE are some departments of literature which require greater exertions than are necessary for the mere composition of the works that belong to them. Of this description are voyages and travels; not to mention the walks of experimental philosophy. The author of a very indifferent book upon any of these subjects, may be entitled to a great portion of applause for the actions which he has performed; and it may even happen that considerable praise is due to the active exertions which the traveller or experimentalist has made, although neither important discoveries nor interesting writings should be the result of his labours. The various difficulties which must be surmounted before any long journey or course of experiments can be performed, are certainly deserving of our notice, to whatever termination the path may lead; yet mankind judge only by the event, and leave out of the calculation every thing which belongs in common to the efforts of the successful and the unfortunate candidate for fame. It has been alleged, therefore, that the business of criticism is to award this due tribute of approbation even to the less happy adventurer, and to moderate the usual tone of strict impartiality in favour of a department never likely to be overstocked with competitors. We are decidedly of opinion, that such a bounty would be in the highest degree improper; that it would tend directly to the discouragement of the respectable trader, by confounding the distinction between good and bad wares; that the more strictly merit is measured by success, and rewards proportioned to merit, the greater will be the competition for the prize, and the higher the value of the work.

But although such considerations induce us to think that no relaxation whatever of critical severity should be granted to this department of literary labour, we conceive that the peculiarities above mentioned authorize us to treat it with some favour of another kind. We are of opinion, that books of travels deserve a greater degree of attention, in proportion to their merits, than other works of more ordinary and easier composition; and we have, therefore, during the course of our undertaking, been disposed to relax in their favour that strict rule of selection, which has been our guide in some other branches of literature. Unhappily, we have hitherto found very little room for bestowing any further marks of admiration on the writings in question;

and our review of the volumes now before us, will furnish at once a proof of our eagerness to find out something worthy of notice in this favourite line of exertion, and a new instance of most unmingled disappointment. Thus much it was necessary to premise, as an apology for making such a work the subject of an article.

The letters of Mr. William Hunter to his sister Eliza, exceed, in a considerable degree, the average dulness of this popular species of composition, even if we include in our estimate the manuscript specimens which it has been our lot to peruse. The two or three first epistles are quite sufficient to correct any hopes of amusement which the reader of the title-page may unwarily have formed. He soon sinks into a kind of unvaried reverie, like that produced by the constant and uniform repetition of any heavy sound;—in this he is not even disturbed by any very striking discord;—he continues turning over page after page, to the number of near a thousand, without finding a single interruption of his repose. The author is a safe and smooth goer; he avoids giving the smallest variety either of pleasure or pain; he maintains this happy medium with inimitable dexterity; and, after the lapse of a certain time, the reader finds himself happily arrived at the end of his *journey*, without the recollection even of a jolt, which might remind him of the task he has performed. Such, at least, was the unruffled state of mind in which we first passed over this work; all our efforts of critical vigilance could only ward off total sleep. In spite of our utmost attention, we could not avoid that minor sort of trance into which Mr. Hunter has the secret of plunging his victims; and we gave way, after some ineffectual struggles, to the uncommon powers of this most skilful magnetiser. Our curiosity, was, however, not unnaturally excited to discover the mysterious charm which he so evidently was in possession of. We therefore submitted once more to his operations; and are now so far acquainted with the secret of his art, that we can venture to disclose it with some confidence, both for the benefit of future authors, and for the warning of our readers.

And, first of all, the practitioner of this new art finds it proper to obtain a due portion of customers. For this end, it is fitting that he should entice the passenger by his sign-post; and as it is of the very nature of signs to have no sort of resemblance to the thing signified, so he depicts, on the outset, not the fare which the passenger shall find within, but that which may tempt him most readily to enter. Thus, as the head of the Grand Turk, and, still more, the words '*neat wines*,' are in nowise descriptive of the liquors which such devices are meant to represent, so is the name of Mr. Hunter's article very far distant from convey-

ing any foretaste of its true nature or object. The unwary passenger sees written, in great characters, 'Travels in France during the heat of the Revolution,' &c. with a head of the Grand Seignior; he buys; and straightway begins to turn over a few leaves. Lest, however, the deception should too suddenly be perceived, and the drug not taken in a sufficient dose, it is covered over with such devices as the following—which excite a little attention by the obscurity of their meaning, or at least tend to keep up the appearance.

'I do not propose to bind myself down by any fixed rules. My digressions will probably be numerous; and, as my inclination prompts me, I may yield to the dictates of reason, or indulge in the speculations of conjecture, or be seduced by the allurements of imagination. If this plan be desultory, I have only sketched it out, because I conceive that it will afford you more entertainment than any other; for there is an irresistible charm in variety, which carries the feelings lightly along'—and so forth. (I. 3.)

By such means the reader is enticed, and submits himself to the farther operations of the spell, which very speedily begin to be felt.

The great secret of Mr. Hunter's art consists in avoiding every thing which may in the smallest degree disturb the repose of his reader by exciting emotions of any sort; and this he chiefly accomplishes, by curiously selecting all those incidents which are of the most ordinary recurrence, mixing them up with such remarks as are equally plain, and interspersing them with long discussions, to prove what is either intuitively true, or intuitively false; thus, in both cases, contriving to render any exertion of intellect as unnecessary in us, as it would be impossible in him. For these ends, he justly considers that the most familiar actions of a man's life are eating and sleeping at the stated times; and that when a person travels, the most ordinary occupation is that of moving from one place to another; setting off at a certain hour of the morning, and arriving at a particular hour in the evening; and, it may be, paying the expense incurred. Extending somewhat further his views of human affairs, he finds that provisions are either good, or bad, or indifferent; that the same general observation applies also to beds; and that all these objects may likewise be distinguished by another principle of classification derived from attending to their prices. From this view of the subject, the transition is easy to roads and ferries, including tolls and bridges, with the accessory matter of horses and carriages. The same love of generalizing, leads him to a contemplation of the works of nature; and he surveys, with an accurate and discriminating eye, the whole state of the weather, which,

like the inns and roads, is remarkable for being sometimes better, and sometimes worse. And these are the main incidents of this excellent writer.

In the choice of his remarks and disquisitions, he is equally judicious: they are indeed of a touching simplicity; they are constantly introduced, lest the uniformity of the narrative might dispose us to wander entirely from the page; and are delivered in language so monotonously resembling their meaning, (when they chance to have any), that, in very truth, the sound may be called an echo to the sense. In the extension of this branch of his work, Mr. Hunter proceeds upon one fundamental principle, of a most universal application,—that the self-evident truth of any proposition is no reason why it should be either suppressed or assumed, but that, on the contrary, it should, on this precise ground, be often repeated, supported by numberless arguments, and enforced by much declamation; rightly judging, that so invaluable a treasure as plain truth can never be too strongly guarded, or too warmly celebrated. It would be endless to collect specimens of the felicity with which this principle is followed out in all its ramifications; it forms, indeed, the cement of the whole work—the *callida junctura* by which all the parts are held together—and so smoothed as not to ruffle the most irritable and active of readers. In justice to Mr. Hunter, we shall cull a few samples. How convincing are his arguments to show that it is wrong to plunder a shipwrecked mariner!

'To take advantage,' saith he, 'of a man who is an unequal opponent, is the act of a coward; but to strip of what little he still posseses, the unfortunate being who throws himself on your mercy, who implores your assistance, and whose life and fortune might be rescued by a trifling exertion of charity, is a conduct so much at variance with the common feelings of nature, that we are at a loss how to account for such barbarous and complicated depravity. Why is the law,' &c. &c. (I. 142.)

By topics, no less judiciously selected, does the master prove, that a tale of complicated 'villany and persecution' creates 'emotions of horror and indignation.'—'A propensity to hate our enemies,' he remarks, 'and to avenge the wrongs they have inflicted on us, is a principle which is coeval with the instinctive feelings of the human frame.' The perception of this truth suddenly transports him; he is wrapt in the fervour of inspiration; and gives loose to the burstings of his heart—'It has an eternal basis in nature, and prevails throughout the extent of the animal creation. It is a fundamental law, which is universally established in the breast, and is neither to be sub-

verted by sophistry, nor invalidated by persuasion, nor extirpated by power.' (I. 358-4.) Whoever would be convinced that fighting against one's country is criminal, and that a bloody field of battle is a dismal object, may be accommodated with the proper arguments, by turning to pages 379, and 383, of the first volume. A long investigation is undertaken, in two whole pages, (391-2), to shew that cheating at cards is improper; and after much reasoning, we are gently lead to the conclusion, that 'those whose sentiments of honour are so relaxed, as to allow them, without repugnance, to cheat at cards, must be of a mean and sordid disposition.' The following remark on human nature is of the most general kind, and evidently flows from what is called 'a sensible man.'—'Such is the folly and fallibility, or the perverseness and obduracy of human nature, that the most sacred obligations are very frequently either openly infringed, or artfully evaded, when they are repugnant to our ideas of happiness, or inconsistent with our views of pleasure, convenience, or profit.' (II. 72.)—If any one has occasion for a sermon upon losses sustained by fire, or homilies proper to dissuade the Turks from using wine, and the dervises from leading irregular lives, or lectures against the use of stays, he may be conveniently supplied at p. 4, 72, 78, and 102, of vol. II.—We extract the following brief and elegant definition of comfort: 'Comfort gladdens and warms the heart wherever it is found; it is the animating spring of social life; and in proportion as it is diffused, is our satisfaction in beholding it increased.' (II. 150.) After a large dissertation on matrimony, Mr. Hunter takes occasion to inform us, that he is 'convinced that private virtue is the only solid basis of public happiness and prosperity; and that the religion the morality, and the freedom of a state, derive, in no small degree, both their origin and protection from the purity of domestic life.' (II. 216.) We cannot help regarding it as rather a singular deviation from his usual plan, that he does not explain at length the reasons on which so very strange an opinion is founded.

The plain downright falsehood of some positions illustrated in these volumes, is as remarkable as the self-evident truth of others: in no case is any thing left to doubt or ingenuity. While, at one time, we are reasoned into a conviction, that it is more agreeable to gaze upon young and beautiful girls, than on the old and the ugly; at another we are desired to believe, on the evidence of the author's own observation, that the scarcity in 1801 was entirely fictitious, and that the arts of monopolists must for the future be checked by legislative interference, otherwise the country will be starved. (II. 130.) Page after

page is filled with demonstrations that there is something improper in despotism, and something unhappy in the situation of a tyrant. Then we are told, that a great capital 'drains a country of its wealth and provisions,' (II. 185.) Sometimes the description of a district is, that its produce consists either of animals, vegetables or minerals; and sometimes we have a museum mentioned, as containing 'minerals, fossils, spars, petrifactions, marbles, opals, shells, metals, and volcanic productions,' (II. 197.) But none of Mr. Hunter's feats of skill gives his reader less trouble than the argument to prove that the public revenue should be augmented by an open and avowed increase in the denomination of the coin: for such we conceive to be the meaning of the following dissertation.

'These mines bring in a considerable revenue to the Crown, by which the chief part of their produce is purchased. Copper simply refined fetches thirty-six florins a cwt.; and, when manufactured into bars and plates, about forty-eight. But the most lucrative use to which it is applied by the government is converting it into coin, as by this operation, one cwt. which costs originally thirty-six florins, yields about eighty in money, leaving a profit of 44 *per cent.** This, to be sure, is not clear gain, as the expences of coinage must be deducted; but these are comparatively trifling. Such immense advantages might furnish a hint to our own government,' &c. (II. 271.)

By a careful adherence to this method of composition, and more especially by a frequent introduction of his own concerns and feelings, Mr. Hunter has happily attained the perfection of the *sedative art* in writing. But as it is not the object of this art entirely to lull the reader, and still less to risk his suddenly shutting the book, whereby the spell would at once be dissolved, the skilful practitioner well knows how to excite from time to time a most gentle titillation of curiosity or hope, never indeed to be gratified, but just sufficient to maintain a slight degree of attention, and to continue the exercise of his power—as the magnetizer renders his subject obedient, and keeps up the trance, without permitting him either to sleep or awake, by tickling his nerves in a certain small degree at proper periods of the operation. In this branch of the art, Mr. Hunter mainly excels. The travels of an Englishman, according to immemorial usage, begin with a storm in the Channel. Now, Mr. Hunter's storm, in which he 'one moment rides on a boisterous wave, the next bumps on an inhospitable rock' (I. 8.), might peradventure have brought the

* The whole of the blunder here is indeed *arithmetical;* but one part of it is still more palpably so than the rest; for the alleged profit should be above 122 *per cent.* instead of 44.

reader's repose to a premature end, had he not, with wonderful adroitness, made use of the tickling process, and promised an 'anecdote of a lusty gentleman.' This proves to be, that the person in question swore a little because he was dropt into the water; that his oaths were in English, he not understanding French; and that, having nobody to carry him, he walked ashore on foot. Thus the titillation is allayed, without having been productive of the slightest gratification to disturb our repose. The same process is very often repeated, especially at Paris and Constantinople; and in no part of the route more frequently than in the unexplored country of Hungary, and the military frontiers of the two emperors. Sometimes he avails himself dexterously of the influence of association; and by commencing a sketch with the same lines by which a celebrated master has formerly pourtrayed it, leads us to expect a continued resemblance of the picture. It must be admitted, however, that he is apt occasionally to mingle a little disappointment, by the sudden transition; as, for example, in the following instance.

'The poor Queen of France, so lately an object of envy! Who can reflect on her sudden reverse of fortune, on her unmerited sufferings, on the savage insults to which she has been exposed, without being struck with that entire change of sentiment and opinion, which at present agitates and directs the minds of this fickle people? Those who once idolized the charms of beauty, and the pomp of royalty, are now become their bitterest persecutors. The age of chivalry is, indeed, gone with *them*, and with it all those milder and more rational virtues by which it was supplanted. Chivalry was an enthusiasm, which, as it espoused the cause and asserted the rights of unprotected innocence and female youth and beauty, was highly serviceable to the state of society under which it prevailed. It sprang'—with a good deal more to the same purpose, vol. I. p. 32-3-4.

As our duty enjoins strict impartiality, we cannot avoid hinting to Mr. Hunter, that this forms some deviation from the ordinary harmlessness of his prose, and ought, in future editions, to be placed at a greater distance from the beginning, that the reader may first be well dozed before so trying an experiment is made upon his temper.

The general music of Mr. Hunter's language is intended, for similar reasons, to resemble that of Dr. Johnson. The likeness between the two styles is indeed pretty exact, unless that Mr. Hunter's has not the sense, nor the variety, nor the justness of his model; so that he has, we apprehend, produced such a parody, as the memorable 'song by a person of quality' is of a song by a poet. To which may be added, that he has borrowed somewhat from a female authority, of a more impure age, the eloquent Mrs. Malaprop—using, after her example, such

doubtful forms of speech as *errant* for *arrant*, (II. 99); *suit* for *suite; interchange* for *change*, (II. 436.); *alternately* for *at once*, (I. 407.):—and betraying, moreover, a taste in grammer somewhat suspicious, as 'women sent *in presents*,' (I. 295.); 'majority, clergy, number, &c. *is*' (passim); 'enemy *are*' (I. viii.); 'after *we*' (II. 50.) In gratitude to Mr. Hunter, we farther recommend, that if he should at any time have occasion again to describe the extreme of '*impossibility*,' he would not make choice of a figure which denotes *possibility*, and indeed alludes to a circumstance of hourly occurrence. In vol. II. p. 5. he talks of something being 'as impossible as it is to restore life when every pulse has ceased to vibrate.' We are also inclined to hint at the propriety of omitting such anecdotes about harams, stallions, and brood-mares, as occur in vol. I. 309, 311, and II. 457, when he shall at any future period indite letters to his sister. These are points of doctrine not essentially necessary to female education, and may tend to interrupt the slumbers of the young ladies who shall haply follow our prescription, and make use of Mr. Hunter's volumes. For we now think it our duty, notwithstanding the above trifling exceptions, to recommend this work as in every respect the best and safest sedative of the kind which the press hath of late times produced; and the most commodious simple which those persons of quality, country gentlemen, and young officers can take, who have got into the habit of turning over the leaves of books during a certain part of the morning. Its operation is certain, agreeable, and efficacious; and possesses the notable advantage, of not interrupting other pursuits, or confining the patient for any length of time to his room.

Art. XVII. *The works of Thomas Chatterton; containing his Life, by G. Gregory, D. D. and Miscellaneous Poems.* London. Longman & Rees. 3 vols. 8vo. 1803.

THE works of Chatterton, whose life and death will be the lasting honour and indelible disgrace of the eighteenth century, are at length, after the lapse of more than thirty years, edited in a collected state. We were at some loss to conceive what could have occasioned the long delay of so interesting a publication; and the explanation has proved rather mortifying. *A priori*, such a work seemed particularly calculated to engage the public attention. To the internal merit of the poems, now at length published, is united all the interest excited by the romantic history and lamentable death of the wonderful author, as well as that which arises from the exercise of critical in-

vestigation, and the ardour of literary controversy. Nevertheless, the delay may be attended by its own advantages in aiding us to ascertain the real merits of the disputed question. The works of Chatterton, or the poems of Rowley, have survived the controversy which attended their appearance in 1770. Of the assailants and defenders of their originality, many have paid the debt to nature, and others will remember their ardour in the contest as the emotions of an agitating dream. It may therefore be supposed that the public will coolly and impartially determine the controversy (if it yet remains a controversy) upon the solid grounds of evidence; and it might also have been hoped, that circumstances of additional proof, suppressed or misrepresented while the feelings of being duped were yet too acute, might now have been recovered. We will endeavour to show how far we have been gratified by the present edition, and in what respects it has fallen short of our expectation.

The preface bears the well known and respectable name of Mr. Robert Southey; but we are informed that so much of the business has devolved upon Mr. Cottle, that it becomes necessary to use the term Editors in the plural. Both poets, and both natives of Bristol, we may suppose that these gentlemen felt a deep and peculiar interest in the task they have undertaken, of rendering a just homage to the genius of their wonderful fellow-citizen, and of contributing to the interest of his surviving relation. The purposes to which the profits of the publication are dedicated, are thus expressed in the preface; and the circumstances, while they do honour to the liberality of the editors and publishers, account for the delay of which we have complained, in a manner deeply disgraceful to the taste and feelings of the public.

'In the winter of 1799, a subscription edition of the works of Chatterton was publicly proposed for his sister's benefit. These works had hitherto been published only for the emolument of strangers, who procured them by gift or purchase from the author himself, or pilfered them from his family. From the interest which these circumstances and the whole of Chatterton's history had excited, more success was expected than has been found. At the end of two years, the subscription would not have defrayed the costs of publication.

'An arrangement was then made with Messrs. Longman & Rees, who have published the work at their own expense, and allowed Mrs. Newton a handsome number of copies, with a reversionary interest in any future edition.'

The friends and patrons of Chatterton, as well as the former collectors of his poems, have been liberal in their communications to the present editors; and the book accordingly contains many of his productions which have been hitherto inedited. We do not aver that, in general, these additions to his works tend to

augment his fame; on the contrary, as some of them have been written almost during infancy, as others are merely unfinished fragments, and as all seem incorrect and hasty productions, we cannot but consider them as far inferior to the poems ascribed to Rowley, and even to those which Chatterton was himself pleased to own during his life. But, in another point of view, these early and unfinished compositions are very interesting. In Chatterton, above all other poets, we would wish not merely to admire the works upon which he may safely rest his claim to immortal fame, but also to investigate the performances in which his exertions have been less successful; and, by comparing them together, to form, if it be possible, some idea of the strength and weakness of this prodigy of early talent. We therefore approve of publishing such pieces as 'Sly Dick' and 'Apostate Will,' which display the early satirical propensities of young Chatterton; with the elegies, songs, and burlettas, by which he endeavoured rather to supply his necessities, and pospone the dreadful crisis of his fate, than to indulge his genius, or extend his poetical fame. One of his juvenile productions, now published for the first time, is a hymn for Christmas-day, which, if really written about the age of eleven, bears ample testimony to the premature powers of the author. We extract a verse or two, which, when the harmony and ease of expression are contrasted with the author's boyhood, inexperience, and want of instruction, appear almost miraculous.

'Almighty Framer of the skies,
O let our pure devotion rise
Like incense in thy sight!
Wrapt in impenetrable shade,
The texture of our souls were made,
Till thy command gave light.

The Sun of glory gleamed the ray,
Refined the darkness into day,
And bid the vapours fly:
Impelled by His eternal love,
He left his palaces above,
To cheer our gloomy sky.

How shall we celebrate the day
When God appeared in mortal clay,
The mark of worldly scorn,
When the Archangel's heavenly lays
Attempted the Redeemer's praise,
And hailed salvation's morn?

A humble form the godhead wore,
The pains of poverty he bore,

To gaudy pomp unknown:
Tho' in a human walk he trod,
Still was the man Almighty God,
In glory all his own.

Despised, oppressed, the Godhead bears
The torments of this vale of tears,
Nor bid his vengeance rise:
He saw the creatures he had made
Revile his power, his peace invade,
He saw with mercy's eyes.'

Such was the early command of language displayed by a child, who, when a beardless youth, was to gull a whole synod of grizzled deans and antiquaries.

The life of Chatterton, prefixt to these volumes, was written by Dr. Gregory of London for the Biographia Britannica, and, by his permission, has been reprinted upon this occasion. Although it seems to be compiled with great fidelity, and probably contains all the material facts known upon the subject; we cannot suppress our hearty wish, that either of the present editors had himself undertaken the task of Chatterton's biographer. Many observations must have occurred to them, while preparing these volumes for the press, which have escaped Dr. Gregory, writing many years ago, and for a more limited purpose. This was the more incumbent upon the editors; because, from persons of poetical taste, so long employed in examining Chatterton's productions, the public must have expected some light upon the Rowleian controversy. Dr. Gregory, unwilling, or unable to form a judgement upon this most important point of the life of the youthful poet, has arranged, with great impartiality, the arguments upon both sides, in battle array against each other, leaving his reader to draw such conclusions as his own taste or judgement may enable him to form. Now, this might be very excusable, in the original circumstances in which Dr. Gregory's life of Chatterton was published; for the Biographia Britannica is not a natural field for literary controversy, though often occupied as such. But in publishing a formal edition of the whole works of Chatterton, in which those articles ascribed to Rowley are included, the public had a right to expect from the editors, their full sentiments upon the point of most essential interest to their author's fame, especially as Mr. Cottle, at least, has formed and expressed a decided opinion upon the subject. Besides, without depreciating the labours of Dr. Gregory, who has produced a plain and simple account of Chatterton's life, we must express ourselves disappointed, that we have not, from the hand of a poet like Southey, a memorial of his ill-fated brother bard. Few subjects

of composition, equally affecting or elevating, can ever occur; for when we consider the strange ambiguity of Chatterton's character, his attainments under circumstances incalculably disadvantageous, and his wish to disguise them under the name of another; his high spirit of independence, and the ready versatility with which he stooped to the meanest political or literary drudgery; the amiable and interesting affection which he displays towards his family, with a certain looseness of morality which approaches to profligacy,—we cannot but regret that a subject, uniting so strong an alternation of light and shade, had not been sketched by the hand of a master. We will not suppose that Mr. Southey, or his brother editor, retreated from the task of becoming Chatterton's biographer through mere indolence; for, the liberality of their purpose towards his sister, is a pledge to us, that they would not readily 'wax weary in well-doing.' We content ourselves with lamenting that any reason should have occurred to deprive us of the satisfaction which we would have reaped in seeing a new life of Chatterton, with a full view of the Rowley controversy, upon which, in many particulars, the book before us, and the detached notes of the editors, throw so much light. One general remark we cannot help deducing from the melancholy picture of the life before us. The inconsistencies of Chatterton's conduct and character may be, in some measure, ascribed to his situation and extreme youth; yet we fear their original source was in that inequality of spirits with which Providence, as in mockery of the most splendid gifts of genius and fancy, has often conjoined them. This strange disorder of the mind, often confounded by the vulgar with actual insanity, of which perhaps it is a remote shade, is fostered by the workings of an ardent imagination as it is checked and subdued by mathematical or philosphical research. It is reconcileable (as is actual insanity) with the exertion of the greatest address in gaining a particular point, or in imposing upon the rest of mankind. In both cases, the object to be attained, is usually, in the eyes of the world, either altogether undesirable, or totally inadequate to the trouble and address expended in attaining it. This disease (for such it is, and of a dreadful complexion) may also, like the extremity of mental derangement, be admitted to palliate the deviations from truth and moral rectitude, which it is peculiarly apt to occasion. Without considering the forgery of Rowley's poems in so heinous a light as if they had been a bill or bond, and pecuniary advantage the object of the fraud, we cannot regard the imposture as of an indifferent or harmless nature. Neither was the end proposed, being apparently the mere internal satisfaction of imposing upon the world, or, at best, the sullen obstinacy of maintaining an assertion which had been hastily

made, apparently adequate to the immense labour necessary to sustain the credit of Rowley. But the ardent mind of Chatterton, who had pitched the standard of his honour on this particular ground, urged him to maintain it at the sacrifice of the poetical reputation he might have acquired by renouncing a phantom of his imagination, and at the yet more important dereliction of personal truth and moral rectitude.

The alternate fits of melancholy and bursts of high spirits which Chatterton manifested; the strange paper entitled his *will*, in which, with a mixture of levity, of bitter satire and actual despair, he announces a purpose of self-destruction; above all, the extravagant hopes which marked his arrival in London, and the suicide which finally closed his short and eventful career,—all announce to us that irregular ambition, and impatience of the natural progress of society, which indicate an inflamed imagination and a precarious judgement.

Before leaving the life of Chatterton, we must intimate, that we are somewhat displeased with the recommendatory and laudatory scraps of verse and prose which, in revival of a good old custom, are tacked to the works of the author. Dr. Vicesimus Knox leads the van with a heavy and dolorous imitation of Sterne (which lumbers along like Mr. Shandy's chaise when it was dragged into Lyons without the wheels), followed in sorrowful procession by the Laureate, by Mrs. Cowley, Mrs. Robinson, Miss Helen Maria Williams, Mr. Herbert Croft, and other persons (as the newspapers have it) of talents and distinction. We confess that we think Chatterton little honoured by their tribute of mawkish and affected sympathy. It is disgusting to hear bluestocking ladies jingle their rhymes, and pedantic schoolmasters pipe upon their sentimental whistles a dirge over the grave of departed genius. We except from this censure a monody of Mr. Coleridge, which, though very unequal, and carelessly executed, exhibits in many passages the feeling and poetical talent which that gentleman always possesses, and sometimes chuses to display. We also except some verses by Mr. Hayley, the subject having raised him on this occasion considerably above the cold, correct mediocrity of his usual tone of poetry.

The poems of Chatterton may be divided into two grand classes—those ascribed to Rowley; for surely, to use Mr. Cottle's expression, it is time to pluck the borrowed plumes from the fictitious monk, and to place them on the brow of the real poet;—and those which the bard of Bristol avowed to be his own composition. Of these classes, the former is incalculably superior to the latter in poetical powers and diction. This is a remarkable circumstance, and forms, we think, the only forcible argument

in support of the existence and claims of Rowley. But there is a satisfactory answer, founded upon more than one reason, for the inferiority betwixt the avowed and concealed productions of Chatterton. He produced those antiquated poems which he ascribed to Rowley when a youth of sixteen; and his education had been so limited, that his general acquirements were beneath those of boys of the same age, since he was neither acquainted with French nor Latin. If, therefore, there is other evidence to prove that the poems of Rowley were his own composition, it follows, that the whole powers and energies of his extraordinary talents must have been converted to the acquisition of the obsolete language, and peculiar style necessary to support this deep-laid deception. He could have no time for the study of our modern poets, their rules of verse, or modes of expression, while his whole faculties were intensely employed in the herculean task of creating the person, history, and language of an ancient poet, which, vast as these faculties were, was surely sufficient wholly to engross, though not to overburden them. When, therefore, due time is allowed for a boy of sixteen to have acquired the astonishing skill 'in antique lore' necessary to the execution of this great project, it will readily be allowed that he must have come to the composition of modern poetry a mere novice, destitute of all adventitious support, and relying only on the strength of his own genius, which, powerful as it was, had hitherto been used in a different and somewhat inconsistent direction. In the poems of Rowley, therefore, we read the exertions of Chatterton in the line of his own choice, aided by all the information which his researches had enabled him to procure, and stimulated by his favourite ambition of imposing upon the literary world; but, in his modern poems, he is engaged in a style of composition to which he was comparatively a stranger, and to which the bent of his mind and turn of his studies had not naturally inclined him. Although this argument seems to account, in a manner sufficiently satisfactory, for the inequality of those productions in which Chatterton has thrown aside the mask of Rowley, it is not the only one which can be offered. Let it be remembered, that admitting Chatterton to be engaged in a deception, he had pledged himself to maintain it; he was therefore carefully to avoid whatever might tend to remove the veil which he had spread over it; and such was his firmness of perseverance, that he seems to attest the originality of Rowley, even in the *will* which he wrote before his projected suicide*. Without therefore supposing that he had

* This circumstance is much founded on by the believers. To us it only affords an additional proof of the unconquerable and haughty

underwritten his own poems, in order to set off those of Rowley, it is obvious that the former must have been executed under a degree of embarrassment highly unfavourable to poetical composition. As Rowley, Chatterton had put forth his whole strength, and exerted himself to the utmost in describing those scenes of antique splendour which captivated his imagination so strongly. But when he wrote in his own character, he was under the necessity of avoiding every idea, subject, or expression, however favourite, which could tend to identify the style of Chatterton with that of Rowley; and surely it is no more to be expected that, thus cramped and trammelled, he should equal his unrestrained efforts, than that a man should exert the same speed with fetters on his limbs as if they were at liberty. Let it be further considered, that there exist persons to whom nature has granted the talent of mimicking, not merely the voice and gesture, but the expression, ideas, and manner of thinking of others, and who, speaking in an assumed character, display a fire and genius which evaporates when they resume their own. In like manner, Chatterton, with all his wonderful powers, appears, from the habit of writing as a fictitious personage, and in a strangely antiquated dialect, to have in some degree formed a character to his supposed Rowley, superior to what he was able to maintain in his own person when his disguise was laid aside. The veil of antiquity also, the hard, and often inexplicable phrases, which he felt himself at liberty to use under his assumed character of a poet of the fifteenth century, serve, in a considerable degree, to blind and impose upon the reader, who does not find himself entitled to condemn what he does not understand, and who is inclined, from the eminent beauty of many passages, to extend his gratuitous admiration to those which are less intelligible. But, when writing in modern

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perseverance of Chatterton's character. We attach no implicit faith to dying declarations; for, upon points in which fame is implicated, the voice of the passions is heard even in the hour of death. We disclaim every application of the illustration which can be disrespectful to the memory of Chatterton; but it is well known, that criminals, whose crimes are not of a nature to meet public sympathy, often at their death endeavour, by a denial of guilt most satisfactorily proved, to avert the odium attached to their persons and memory. It may be thought that Chatterton would have better consulted his own fame, by avowing these beautiful poems; but the pride of every one is not sustained by the same nutriment. He probably deprecated the doubtful fame of an ingenious but detected impostor, and preferred the internal consciousness, that, by persisting in the deception he had commenced, future ages might venerate the poems of Chatterton, under patronage of the fictitious Rowley.

English, this advantage is lost, and we are often shocked with a bald and prosaic tautology, with bombast, and with coarseness of expression, all the defects not of Chatterton's natural genius, but of his extreme youth and deficient education, and many instances of which will be found to exist by curious inquirers, even under the seemly and antique *Alban* of the *Deigne Thomas Rowleie, Preiste of St. Johans, Bristowe.*

When the believers in Rowley are driven from this strong ward, we apprehend they can hardly make good their footing in any other. Two or three gentlemen, companions of Chatterton while at school, have ventured to give it as their decided opinion, that, according to their estimation of his talents, he was unable to compose the poems of Rowley. Mr. Cottle treats with well-merited contempt, the evidence of these persons, who, from recollection of an opinion formed while schoolboys, conceive the plummet of their understandings adequate to fathom the depth of Chatterton's genius. A list is given of the parchments which have been produced as remnants of Rowley's MSS.; all of which, from the shape and texture, as well as from the handwriting, are very evidently forgeries by the unfortunate young man from whom they were recovered.

Above all, the internal evidence arising from the poems themselves, has always appeared to us to convey decisive marks of modern origin. The smoothness of the verse, which, in most cases, resembles the most correct modern poetry, as well as the complicated nature of the stanza, are highly suspicious. It is no doubt true, that, in some compositions of a lyrical nature, the old English poets attained a considerable degree of ease and fluency, chiefly such as were adapted to the music of the minstrels, when the necessity of following the tune compelled the poet to observe a regularity of rythm. Such, for example, are the poems of Lawrence Minot. But these poems are flimsy songs, in which the same idea, and often the same words, are repeated and chimed upon, in order to attain the necessary smoothness. Take, for example, a verse of Minot, which, for the sake of the uninitiated, we have stripped of the antique spelling.

'Sir David the Bruce
Was at distance,
When Edward the Baliolfe
Rode with his lance:
The north end of England
Teached him to dance.
When he was met on the moor
With mikell mischaunce,
Sir Philip the valayse
Might not him advance;

The flowers that fair were
Ar fallen in France:
The flowers are now fallen,
That fair were and fell:
A boar with his battaille
Has don them to dwell.'

The ease of these lines is the smoothness of mere ballad attained by the tenuity of idea, and the tautology of expression. But the smoothness of Rowley is combined with all the graces and refinement of modern poetry. Take two stanzas at hazard, divested of the artificial *patina* or rust of antique orthography—

'The sun was gleaming in the midst of day,
Dead-still the air, and eke the welkin blue,
When from the sea arose in drear array,
A heap of clouds, of sable, sullen hue,
The which full fast unto the woodland drew,
Hiding at once the sunnes festive face;
And the black tempest swell'd, and gather'd up apace.

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The gather'd storm is ripe; the big drops fall;
The sun-burnt meadows smoke, and drink the rain;
The coming *ghastness* doth the cattle 'pal;
And the full flockes are driving o'er the plain.
Dash'd from the clouds the waters fly again,
The welkin opes, the yellow levin flies,
And the hot fiery steam in the wide flashing dies.'

Can any one read this beautiful description of a landscape overshaded by a thunder storm, and doubt for a moment that it is by a modern hand?—yet we have only discarded *hiltring*, *fetyve*, *forswat*, and *smothe*, all other differences betwixt our copy and the text being merely in spelling. Chatterton's answer to the strong objection arising from the smoothness of Rowley's poetry, when stated to him by Horace Walpole, is very remarkable—'The harmony is not so extraordinary, as Joseph Iscam is altogether as harmonious.' Now, as Joseph Iscam is equally a person of dubious existence, this is a curious instance of *placing the elephant upon the tortoise*. It is not our wish to engage farther in the controversy. If any one resists the internal evidence of the style of Rowley's poems, we make him welcome to the rest of the argument; to his belief that the Saxons imported heraldry, and gave armorial bearings (which were not known till the time of the Crusades); that Mr. Robert Canning, in the reign of Edward IV., encouraged drawing, and had private theatricals; that Mr. Burgum, the pewterer of Bristol, derived his descent from Simon de Leyncte Lyze, *alias* Senlez, who married Matilda

daughter of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, Northampton, and Huntingdon; that Mr. Stephens of Salisbury drew his ancestry from Od, Earl of Blois and Holderness, who flourished about 1095; and that Chatterton himself represented the Sieur de Chasteautonne, of the house of Rollo, the first Duke of Normandy.

Quibus si credideris,
Expectare poteris
Arthurum cum Britonibus.

——— Nothing can be more extraordinary than the delight which Chatterton appears to have felt in executing these numberless and multifarious impositions. His ruling passion was not the vanity of a poet who depends upon the opinion of others for its gratification, but the stoical pride of talent, which felt nourishment in the solitary contemplation of superiority over the dupes who fell into his toils. He has himself described this leading feature of his character in a letter to Mr. Barret.

'It is my pride, my damned, native, unconquerable pride, that plunges me into distraction. You must know that 19-20ths of my composition is pride. I must either live a slave—a servant—have no will of my own which I may fairly declare as such, or DIE.' Vol. III. p. 419.

The art and avidity with which the youthful poet seized every opportunity, 'through an excess of ingenuity in a literary sense, *to impose on the credulity of others*,' is justly remarked by Mr. Cottle to be 'the predominant quality which elucidates his character, and is deserving of minute regard by all who attempt to decide on the Rowleian controversy.' We shall extract the instances which the editor has brought together, forming a curious picture of a most active and powerful mind, embued with a strange rage for the practice of literary imposture; omitting, however, the notes, that we may not exceed our bounds.

'I. A *new bridge* is just completed over the Avon at Bristol.—Chatterton sends to the printer a description of the passing over the *old bridge*, for the first time, in the thirteenth century; on which occasion two songs are sung by two saints, of whom nobody ever heard, and in language precisely the same as Rowley's, although he lived two hundred years after the event was said to have taken place.

'II. Mr. Burgum is a man attached to heraldic honours.—Chatterton gives him his pedigree from the time of William the Conqueror, and allies him to some of the most ancient families in the kingdom!

'III. Mr. Burgum is one of the first persons who expresses an opinion of the authenticity and excellence of Rowley's poems. Chatterton, pleased with this first blossom of credulity, and from which he presaged an abundant harvest, with an elated and grateful heart, presents him with the 'Romaunt of the Cnyghte,' a poem, written by 'JOHN DE BERGHAM,' one of *his own* ancestors, about four hundred

and fifty years before; and the more effectually to exclude suspicion, he accompanies it with the same poem, modernized by himself!

'IV. Chatterton wishes to obtain the good opinion of his relation Mr. Stephens of Salisbury, and from something which it is possible his keen observation had remarked in Mr. Stephens, he deems it the most effectual way, by informing him that he is descended from Fitz-Stephen, grandson of the venerable Od, Earl of Blois, and Lord of Holderness, who flourished about the year 1095!

'V. Mr. Catcott is a worthy and religious man; and who, from never intending to deceive, suspects no deception in others—Chatterton, who is a skilful engineer, adapts the nature of his attack to the strength of the fortress, and gives him an ancient fragment of a sermon on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, as *wroten* by Thomas Rowley!

'VI. Mr. Barrett is zealous to prove the antiquity of Bristol.—As a demonstrable evidence, Chatterton sends him an escutcheon (on the authority of the same Thomas Rowley) borne by a Saxon of the name of Ailward who resided in *Bristow* in the year 718!

'VII. Mr. Barrett is also writing a comprehensive history of Bristol, and is solicitous to obtain all possible information concerning it.—Chatterton seizes the opportunity, and presents him, at *different times*, with an account of all the churches and chapels of Bristol, as they appeared three hundred years before, and accompanies it with drawings and descriptions of the castle; the whole of this information being unsupported by either document or tradition, and resting alone on the evidence of 'the gode prieste *Thomas Rowley*,' between whom and *Thomas Chatterton*, prejudice itself must allow, there was a great equality of talent, as well as a great similitude of pursuits. They were both poets, both antiquarians, and both perpetually adverting to heraldry.

'VIII. Public curiosity and general admiration are excited by translations from the Erse of Ossian.—Chatterton, who gave precedence to none in 'catching the manners living as they rise,' publishes a succession of poems from the *Saxon* and *Welch*, indifferent to the inconsistency, or otherwise not aware, that he had professedly translated works in the *same* style, and with the *same* imagery, from the TEUTONIC and CELTIC, two languages of different origin and genius, and whose poetry, of all their writings, has ever been considered as the most dissimilar.

'IX. Mr. Walpole is writing the history of British Painters.—Chatterton, (who, to a confidential friend, had before expressed an opinion that it was *possible*, by judicious management, to deceive even this master in antiquities), with full confidence sends him an account of eminent 'Carvellers' and 'Peyncters,' and informs him of others who once flourished in BRISTOL! but of whom the present inhabitants of Bristol never heard, and who are mortified at having no other evidence of the distinguished honour ascribed to them, than the solemn asseveration of that 'something, nothing, not to be defined,' Thomas Rowley!

'But these are all subordinate deceptions. Chatterton's ambition embraced a larger range, and was circumscribed by no other limit, than, in the person of Rowley, of deceiving the whole world. And, that he succeeded in a great and unaccountable degree, is attested by the voluminous controversies of antiquarians, historians, and poets. The object bespoke the comprehension of his mind; and its partial success is a lasting monument of what perseverance may effect when supported by genius.' p. 509—514.

This curious detail of repeated imposture, regularly executed at the time when circumstances appeared to give an opening for them, may surely suffice to excite the suspicion of the most credulous believer in Rowley. Alike a forger of style, of MSS., and of drawings, nothing escaped the imitation of a youth, born as it were with the rare talents of executing such multiplied deceptions, and with a temper framed to delight in his success, which it may be hoped is still rarer. Of the merit of the Rowley Poems, in a critical point of view, it is not here the place, or now the time to speak. They have been long subjected to the public; and in spite of their being written in a dialect which resembles the ancient or modern language of England, hardly more nearly than the vocabulary of George Psalmanazer did that of Formosa, they have been ever esteemed compositions of the highest merit. The drama called Ella, many parts of the Battle of Hastings, the Ballad of Charité, that of Sir Charles Baldwin (which somewhat resembles the antique style of minstrel poetry), the Dirge, and several of the Eclogues, may rank with the labours of our most distinguished poets. Pity it is, that the circumstances and temper of the author combined to shorten a life distinguished by such works of excellence during its limited career.

The poems avowed by Chatterton were with a few exceptions, satirical or amatory. In the former line, his inclination for severity is more remarkable than his success. Perhaps he adopted this style of composition, not only in compliance with a natural ascerbity of temper aggravated by his dependant situation, but also as most remote from the walk of the moral and heroic Rowley. Satire, however in a polished age, requires more than mere genius and the force of numbers. General invective, however coarse and vehement, falls heavily to the ground, unless sharpened and guided by that accurate and discriminating knowledge of men and manners which is not often acquired in early youth, or easily attained in obscure circumstances. The personal reflections which his satires level against those persons in Bristol to whom Chatterton is admitted to have owed the deepest obligations, do little honour to their author. We hardly know whether to laugh or grieve, when he reproaches Catcott,

down whose throat he had crammed the improbable tale of Rowley with gross *credulity*, because he was a believer in revelation! The amatory poems are pretty much what might have been expected from his declared intention 'of making acquaintance with a girl in the neighbourhood, supposing it might soften the austerity of temper study had occasioned.' Accordingly, 'he wrote a poem to her, and they commenced corresponding acquaintance.' Little was to be expected from verses written by a lover who had adopted his sentiments of preference *pour se desennuyer*. In some of his other poems, particularly the elegy upon Mr. Fairford, traces are remarked by Dr. Gregory, of the descriptive and personifying powers exerted in the poems of Rowley.

Of Chatterton's prose pieces, the less that is said, the kinder we shall be to his reputation. In the essays which he wrote for periodical publications, as, 'the Hunter of Oddities,' 'Adventures of a Slave,' and the like, he displays little humour, and great inclination to substitute in its place personal abuse and private slander. The imitations of Ossian, published as translations from the Saxon, are not only utterly incongruous with the style of the language from which he pretended to have rendered them, but are incalculably inferior to the sophisticated productions of Macpherson. This is not to be wondered at, Macpherson, with powers infinitely inferior to those of Chatterton, had the advantage of an intimate acquaintance with the Celtic poetry, much of which he probably interweaved with his own imitations: The bard of Bristol had only Macpherson to study; and, at an age when bombast is seldom distinguished from sublime, he caricatured, in his Saxon poems, the worst passages of the Pseudo-Ossian.

The present edition contains many prose imitations of the antique, published from Chatterton's MSS. in the British Museum. These are very important, as throwing light upon the Rowleian poems. Some curious passages occur in these documents. While Chatterton wrote plain narrative, he imitated, with considerable success, the dry, concise style of an antique annalist; but when any thing required a more dignified or sentimental style, he mounted the fatal and easily recognized car of the son of Fingal. Thus, in an account of St. Marie Magdalene's chapelle, after informing us it 'was ybuilden bie Elle, warden of the castle near Elle-gate, Sythina clessen, New-gate—yn this chapelle was ysworne a treatye betweene Goddwynne Erle or Abthane of Kent, Harold estsoons Kynge of England,' &c. &c.; he of a sudden thus changes his tone in commemorating his favourite Elle—'Elle descended from the kyngelie bloude of Mercyans, raged in the

fyghte like a wilde boare in the woode; drearie as a blacke cloude yn ungentle wedder he sweept whole rankes to helle. Lyke to the castle of Bryghstowe was his mind gentle and meeke,' &c. &c. Again, in a very sober narrative of the 'Ryse of Peyncleyne in Englande,' written by Rowley for his friend Cannynge, after a sort of matter of fact account of various artists, we come to one called *Aflem, a notable perfourmer of the counynge mysterie of steineynge glasse.* This person was taken by the Danes, and ordered to be slain. The Dane to whom the execution was entrusted, discovered Aflem to be his brother. At this crisis, Rowley tucks up his monkish frock, and mounts the Celtic Pegasus. 'Affrighte chaynede uppe hys soule; ghastnesse dwelled yn his breaste. Oscarre (a name of some import, as proving the existing idea in the mind of the author)—Oscarre, the greate Dane, gave histe he should be forslagen; no teares colde availe; the morning, cladde in robes of ghastnesse, was come;' &c. &c. An instance of a curious mistake committed by Chatterton, occurs in these excerpts from the Pseudo-Rowley prose writings. In a MS. in Chatterton's handwriting, in the Museum, there occur several excerpts from Chaucer, apparently culled to bolster out some intended imitations. Among others we find the two lines respecting the mormal on the leg of the Pilgrim's cook.

'But great harm was yt, as it thought me,
That on his skinne a mormall had he.'

Skinne is here mis-copied for *shin.* This mistake, and another more whimsical, we can trace into the 'Rolle of Seyncte Bartholæmeweis Priorie,' printed in Barret's history of Bristol, to whom it was communicated by Chatterton. Among a list of medical books, said to be preserved in the Infirmary, or *Ache-chamber* of the Priorie, we find, 'Gylbertines rolle of Ypocrates: the same fryarres booke of brenninge *Johan Stowe of the cure of mormalles and the waterie leprosie: the rolle of the blacke mainger.*' In a note on these two last articles, we are told, 'Chaucer says, on his skin a mormalle had he and a blacke manger.' Now, in the first place, Chatterton adhering to his erroneous transcript from Chaucer, of *skinne* for *shinne,* has made Johan Stowe lecture on the cure of mormalles, as if they were, like the leprosy, a cutaneous distemper, and not a cancer upon the bone. But, besides, he has so far mistaken his author, as to take *blanc-manger,* a dish of exquisite cookery, which is pronounced by Chaucer to be the cook's masterpiece of skill, for *blacke manger,* some strange and nondescript disease, under which he laboured, in addition to his *mormal;* and upon which there was a roll or essay in the *Ache-chamber* of St. Bartholomew's priory. Chaucer's words are,

'But gret harm was it, as it thought me,
That on his *shinne* a mormal hadde he;
For *blanc-manger* that made he with the best.'

The principal ingredient of blanc-manger, (if we recollect) was a cock brayed in a mortar. The resemblance of the letters *n* and *u* in the black-letter, probably led Chatterton to read *blauc* for *blanc;* and as he understood no French, his judgement could not correct his eye. We are thus able decidedly to trace the taste and the errors of Chatterton into the productions of Rowley. We do not, however, suppose that all the information contained in the works of Rowley was actually the invention of Chatterton. The keen eye and ardent research of the young poet, probably traced and interweaved with his narrative traditionary anecdotes preserved in his native city. Nothing that had an antique or uncouth appearance seems to have escaped his notice. Mr. Tyrwhitt detected a curious instance of his minuteness of remark. In the Ballad of Charité, mention is made of a *horse-millanere*, a phrase at which the reader has usually paused with surprise. In the town of Bristol, and precisely in the street through which Chatterton passed to school, is hung forth a wooden horse decorated with ribbons, purporting to be the sign of a *horse-millanere*.

Nothing can afford a stronger picture of the force and weakness of the human mind, than the readiness with which Chatterton supplied himself and his particular friends with flourishing trees of genealogy, in which the sextons and pewterers of Bristol are deduced from a line of ancestry, which Howards and Hastings might envy, and decorated with all the splendid emblazonment of heraldry. We are mute with astonishment at the grave and sober advice of the sexton's son of Radcliffe to his relation Mr. Stevens of Salisbury: 'When you quarter your arms, in the mullet, say Or, a fess, vert, by the name of Chatterton. I trace your family from Fitz-Stephen, son of Stephen Earl of Aumerle, in 1095, son of Od, Earl of Bloys, and Lord of Holdernesse.' If the imagination of Chatterton was not actually so far vitiated, as in some degree to believe the reveries which he imposed upon others, we cannot help thinking that, as Johnson says of Milton, his impudence must have been at least equal to his stupendous abilities. We were also diverted with the conclusion of the pedigree made out for Mr. Burgum of Bristol, which begins with the Conqueror, and very prudently concludes about the reign of Charles II., when Mr. Burgum might perhaps knew something of his ancestors. Chatterton linked and gilded this splendid chain of ancestry through all the ages remote enough to leave unbounded scope for fiction: when he approached the regions of probability,

he let the end loose, that his friend might attach himself to it the best way he could. There is in Cumberland an ancient family, who have long possessed and taken their name from the manor of Brougham, to which Chatterton seems to allude, when he mentions the Castle of Bourgham in Northumberland. But the castle was, we believe, an appanage, not of the De Bourghams, lords of the manor, but of the Veteriponts and Cliffords.

We now dismiss the works of the unfortunate Chatterton, heartily wishing they may experience from the public kinder treatment than their unfortunate and proud-spirited author. To the admirers of poetry they will ever be acceptable; nor can their history be heedfully perused, without imparting an awful lesson; for the fame of Chatterton is not merely a light to be wondered at—it shines as a beacon to point out the shoals upon which he was wrecked. The youthful reader, if conscious of powers which elevate him above his situation in life, may learn to avoid an overweening reliance upon his abilities, or an injudicious and unfair exertion of them. He may learn, that if neglect or contempt obstruct him in the fair pursuit of fame, it is better to prefer obscurity, than to attain, by the crooked path of literary forgery, the ambiguous reputation of an ingenious impostor. Above all, he may learn to guard against those sallies of an ill-regulated imagination, which buoyed up Chatterton with the most unreasonable expectations, only to plunge him into despair and suicide. And if there be one who, conscious of inferior mental powers, murmurs at being allotted but 'the single talent,' and looks with envy on the flights of superior genius, let him read the life of Chatterton, and remember that of him it may be truly said,—

'*Largus et exundans letho dedit ingenii fons.*'

Art. XVIII. *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Darwin, chiefly during his residence at Lichfield; with Anecdotes of his Friends, and Criticisms on his Writings.* By Anna Seward. London. 1804. 8vo. pp. 430.

IT has been long held, on high critical authority, that history must always please, independently of the particular mode, and even in spite of the defects, of its execution: and unquestionably even that moderate portion of fact which may be reasonably expected in the life of every eminent individual, can scarcely be presented under any disguise so perversely absurd, as entirely to divest it of interest. Under the influence of stubborn curiosity, we have been accordingly carried through a faithful perusal of these Memoirs of the celebrated author of 'the Botanic Garden:'

and although we are bound to admit that our labour has not been entirely unrewarded, yet Miss Seward must forgive us, if we add, that the most striking lesson we have derived from her volume, has been the truly wonderful extent of that tolerant maxim to which we have alluded. The share which she appears to have long enjoyed of the intimate society of Dr. Darwin, and her opportunities of accurate information relative at least to a considerable portion of his life, had given to Miss Seward some peculiar advantages in becoming, as she terms it, 'the recorder of vanished genius.' It is therefore the more to be regretted that she should not have been restrained, by some visitations of a better taste, from clothing her narrative in a garb so injudicious and fantastic. But it would appear that Miss Anna Seward has been too long accustomed to soar into the high and giddy regions of verse, to be able to tread with sober step and becoming gravity of air in the humbler pathway of prose.

Of the matter and arrangement of these Memoirs, the Preface gives us the following notice:

'My work consists of the following particulars:—the person, the mind, the temper of Dr. Darwin; his powers as a Physician, Philosopher, and Poet; the peculiar traits of his manners; his excellences and faults; the Petrarchan attachment of his middle life, more happy in its result than was that of the Bard of Vaucluse; the beautiful poetic testimonies of its fervor, while yet it remained hopeless: an investigation of the constituent excellences and defects of his magnificent poem, the Botanic Garden; remarks upon his philosophic prose writings; the characters and talents of those who formed the circle of his friends while he resided in Lichfield; and the very singular and interesting history of one of them, well known in the lettered world, [Mr. Thomas Day] whose domestic history, remarkable as it is, has been unaccountably omitted by the gentleman who wrote his life.' Pref. p. v. vi.

After perusing this table of contents, the reader will have himself alone to blame, if he expect in this volume any exact or orderly deduction of the facts of Dr. Darwin's life. Miss Seward apparently spurns the fetters of vulgar, chronological narration; and has chosen rather to expatiate, free and at large, under the impulse of her own spontaneous feelings, or accidental associations. After having followed her with patience through her eccentric and capricious evolutions, we are unable to say that our progress has been rendered more pleasing by this irregular variety, or that it has afforded us any tolerable compensation for the want of a distinct and intelligible narrative. An analysis of the first chapter of the work may serve sufficiently to justify these remarks, and may furnish a sufficient specimen of its plan and execution.

On the birth, parentage, and education of her hero, Miss Seward has not deigned to bestow a single line. We are abruptly

introduced to him at the age of twenty-four, when he first came to practise physic at Lichfield in the autumn of the year 1756; and even then, instead of proceeding directly in her narrative, she stops on the threshold to give us a 'sketch of his character and manners,' such as they had appeared to her in the subsequent course of Dr. Darwin's life. This inversion of the usual arrangement in biographical writing may be perfectly consonant to the desultory plan of these memoirs; but, in itself, it is so palpably injudicious, that there is very little hazard of its adoption as a model. Within these few years, a similar innovation was attempted by a Scotish historian, who, at the commencement of every reign, introduced that general delineation of the character of the sovereign which has usually found a place at the close: but, if we may judge from our own feelings, the example of Mr. Pinkerton will not probably prove more seducing than that of Miss Seward.

Of this 'sketch of the character and manners of Dr. Darwin,' we can only say, that it leaves no very distinct impression on the mind; and *that* impression, such as it is, has not, in our own case at least, been extremely favourable. But Miss Seward does not stand forth as the indiscriminating panegyrist of her deceased friend; nor does she appear to have been withheld, by any violent or undue partialities, from discharging those 'sacred duties of biography,'—'beneath the ever-present consciousness' of which she would be understood to have proceeded. Of the justice of her claims to the praise of rigid impartiality, those only can be competent judges, to whom Dr. Darwin was personally known; but it is perhaps less difficult to discover that Miss Seward was not altogether equal to the task of delineating with truth the various parts of his character, or of appreciating the qualities of which it was composed. In this preliminary sketch, and in other parts of her work, we are, indeed, presented with a number of striking traits of temper and of manners, such as must have been obvious to common observation; but in her attempts to mark the extent, the limitations, and the peculiar character and complexion of those higher powers of mind, by which alone the possessor becomes an object of serious interest—her description becomes feeble and indistinct, and she takes refuge in vague, general, or exaggerated statement. Thus, we are informed, that 'beauty and symmetry had not been propitious to his exterior;' that 'he stammered extremely;' that he was 'sore upon opposition,' and overbearing and sarcastic in conversation; but whether from the '*consciousness of great native elevation above the general standard of intellect*,' we may be permitted to doubt. Moreover, we are told, that 'extreme was his scepticism to human truth;—that

habits of distrust tinctured his conversation with an apparent want of confidence in mankind;—and that 'perhaps this proneness to suspicion mingled too much of art in his wisdom.' Farther, we are told that he abstained from 'vinous fluid;' that he had 'an absolute horror of spirits of all sorts;' that his only tolerance was in favour of home-made wines; that 'acid fruits, with sugar, and all sort of creams and butter, were his luxuries;' but that 'he always ate plentifully of animal food.' Of his virtues and talents, we learn that 'professional generosity distinguished Dr. Darwin's medical practice;' that '*his* was the cheerful board of open-housed hospitality;' and that 'generosity, wit and science were his household gods;' that nature had bestowed on him 'the seducing and often dangerous gift of a highly poetic imagination;' but that 'through the first twenty-three years of his practice as a physician, Dr. Darwin, with the wisdom of Ulysses, bound himself to the medical mast, that he might not follow those delusive syrens, the muses, or be considered as their avowed votary; nor was it till then, that 'the impregnable *rock* on which his medicinal and philosophical reputation were placed, *induced* him to contend for that species of fame which should entwine the Parnassian laurel with the balm of pharmacy.'

Such, we can assure our readers, is the amount of the information respecting the character and manners of Dr. Darwin, for which we are here indebted to his biographer. It may perhaps serve to moderate the expectations of those who may have unwarily looked only to the enviable opportunities of observation which she appears to have enjoyed.

On 'returning to the dawn of Dr. Darwin's professional establishment,' we are informed by Miss Seward of the sudden fame he acquired by his success in a desperate case of fever, and of the imputations of rashness which were ignorantly attached to his practice. Mrs. Darwin is then introduced on the scene; and from the account given by Miss Seward, she appears to have been an interesting and accomplished woman; but we must be forgiven if we are not greatly charmed with the felicity of a long oration which is put into her mouth while on her death-bed.

Soon after this lady's death, Dr. Darwin purchased an old house in the city of Lichfield, on the lilliputian improvements of which Miss Seward has lavished all her powers of picturesque description.

'To this *rus in urbe*, of Darwinean creation, resorted, from its early rising, a knot of philosophic friends in frequent visitation. The Rev. Mr. Mitchell, many years deceased. He was skilled in astronomic science, modest, and wise. The ingenious Mr. Kier of West Bromich, then Captain Kier. Mr. Boulton, known and respected wherever mechanic philosophy is understood. Mr. Watt, the celebrated improver of the

steam engine. And, above all others in Dr. Darwin's personal regard, the accomplished Dr. Small of Birmingham, who bore the blushing honours of his talents and virtues to an untimely grave.'

Tired already of her proper subject, Miss Seward again digresses into the private history of those who moved in 'the Darwinian sphere,'—of Mr. Edgeworth and his wives; of Dr. Small, and the elegies and epitaphs written by his friends; and particularly of Mr. Thomas Day, the author of the popular little volumes of Sandford and Merton. Of the last of these gentlemen, a very full and disproportioned account is given, and a great many anecdotes are told, which we shall not attempt to retail, but which, in their proper place, might serve to illustrate the singularly romantic and hair-brained character of this modern philosopher. With the history of Dr. Darwin's life they have no intimate connexion: And so ends the first chapter.

On 'resuming the recollected circumstances of Dr. Darwin's life,' Miss Seward is unable for a moment to withstand her wayward propensity to digression; and our attention is instantly drawn aside to the contemplation of new groups of visitors and friends who made their appearance at Lichfield 'after Dr. Small and Mr. Michell had vanished from the earth, and Mr. Day and Mr. Edgeworth, in the year 1772, had left the Darwinian sphere.' But it would be vain to follow this lady in her meandering course; and by attempting it, we should equally fatigue our readers and ourselves. Throughout the whole of that portion of the work which bears the semblance of narrative, it is only for a moment that we catch a glimpse of the principal figure; and even then, our gratification is too often dashed by the frivolity of the information which is conveyed. The reader may look in vain for any thing which merits the name of just biographical narrative. Even when Dr. Darwin is the subject, little else is to be found than an inflated translation of the tea-table talk of Litchfield; nor will all the good things which have been uttered on sundry occasions by the choice spirits of the place, be felt as any adequate compensation for this radical defect.

'In the year 1768,' we are told, 'Dr. Darwin met with an accident of irretrievable injury in the human frame:' he was thrown from a whimsical carriage of his own invention, and broke the patella of his right knee. For the edification of the curious reader, we extract a philosophical observation suggested to Miss Seward by this occurrence.

'It is remarkable, that this uncommon accident happened to three of the inhabitants of Lichfield in the course of *one* year; first, to the author of these memoirs in the prime of her youth; next, to Dr. Darwin; and, lastly, to the late Mr. Levett, a gentleman of wealth and conse-

quence in the town. No such misfortune was previously remembered in that city, nor has it once recurred through all the years which have since elapsed.' p. 62.

While Dr. Darwin resided at Lichfield, Dr. Johnson was repeatedly there on his visitations to Miss Lucy Porter. Miss Seward informs us, that 'they had one or two interviews, but never afterwards sought each other. Mutual and strong dislike subsisted between them.' Miss Seward goes on to remark as curious, that, in Johnson's correspondence, 'the name of Darwin should not be found, nor indeed that of any of the ingenious and *lettered* people who lived there; while of its more common-life characters there is frequent mention, with many hints of Lichfield's intellectual barrenness, while it could boast a Darwin and other men of classical learning, poetic talents, and liberal information.' Of these ingenious and lettered persons, Miss Seward here gives the reader a further enumeration, accompanied with specimens of their poetic and colloquial talents, which we shall not presume to injure by a mutilated extract. That Dr. Johnson's colloquial despotism should have alarmed the self-importance of a man like Darwin, who was ambitious of being himself a despot in his own 'sphere,' and who is described as 'sore upon opposition, whether in argument or conduct,' can hardly be matter of much surprize. The colloquial intrepidity of Johnson was unquestionably too firm to have suffered him to shrink from the society of any man; but if he was avoided by Darwin and the Lichfield coterie, as Miss Seward seems to admit, his silence cannot well be accused of injustice to their talents and accomplishments.

'About the year 1771 commenced that great work the Zoonomia, first published in 1794; the gathered wisdom of three and twenty years.' With somewhat more hardihood than prudence, his biographer has attempted to define the character of this work as a philosophical composition, and to appreciate its speculative merits and its practical utility. It cannot be disputed that the work is enriched with a vast variety of curious, though too often doubtful and incautious statements of fact, and that it every where displays uncommon powers of ingenious combination; but we are by no means prepared, with Miss Seward, to extol it as a model of philosophical investigation, or to recommend it to the daily and nightly meditation of the youthful student.

Before he quitted his residence at Lichfield, Dr. Darwin formed a botanical society, consisting of three persons,—which, we believe, is held to be the *minimum* of a body corporate. The two other members were Sir Brooke Boothby, and a proctor of

the name of Jackson, whom Miss Seward has characterised as 'a would-be philosopher, a turgid and solemn coxcomb;' but who was the chief operator in the translation of the Linnean System of Vegetation, which was published in the name of this society. 'His illustrious coadjutors exacted of him fidelity to the sense of their author, and they corrected Jackson's inelegant English, weeding it of its pompous coarseness.'

It was about this time also that Dr. Darwin first became acquainted with Mrs. Pole of Radburn, who was the object of what Miss Seward has called 'the Petrarchan attachment of his middle life, more happy in its result than was that of the bard of Vaucluse.' It was in consequence of his marriage to this lady in 1781 that he removed from Litchfield to Derby; and it was to her, in her married or widowed state, that he addressed several copies of verses, which have since been circulated in periodical publications. But these, with the whole history of this tender attachment, and various other matters of a more digressive and extraneous nature, we are compelled to leave without further notice.

From the period of his quitting Lichfield, Miss Seward does not attempt to give more than a slight outline of the domestic history of Dr. Darwin. The completion of the task is reserved, we are told, for 'his some time pupil, and late years friend, the ingenious Mr. Dewhurst Bilsborrow, who is now writing, or has written, his life at large.' Her information relative to this latter period is avowedly imperfect: and it is to be regretted that, with better opportunities within her reach, she should have suffered herself to be misled by erroneous report. In the year 1799, Dr. Darwin had the misfortune to lose his eldest son, in circumstances extremely distressing. On first perusing the account given by Miss Seward, of the 'stoical fortitude' of the father, we were certainly much shocked, and could have pardoned his biographer for a less rigid adherence to the duty of speaking the whole truth. We are pleased now to find, that the statement is partly erroneous, and are happy to afford Miss Seward the present opportunity of correcting it.* We now

* The following note has been communicated to the Editor of this Review.

'The author of the Memoirs of Dr. Darwin, since they were published, has discovered, on the attestation of his family, and of the other persons present at the juncture, that the statement given of his exclamation, page 406, on the death of Mr. Erasmus Darwin, is entirely without foundation, and that the Doctor, on that melancholy event, gave,

turn to the account which she has given of the poem of 'the Botanic Graden,' of which an elaborate analysis and criticism occupies nearly a half of the volume.

About the year 1777, Dr. Darwin had purchased 'a little wild, umbrageous valley,' in the neighbourhood of Lichfield, which he cultivated with great taste; aiming, as Miss Seward expresses it, 'to unite the Linnean science with the charm of landscape.' On her first solitary visit to 'this luxuriant retreat, with her tablets and pencil, and seated on a flower bank,' Miss Seward wrote a little poem of about fifty lines, addressed to Dr. Darwin, under the character of the genius of the place; in praise of which, it is enough to say, that, with some alterations, it was afterwards adopted, without acknowledgement, as the introduction to the first canto of 'the Botanic Garden.' This we consider as the most curious anecdote in the volume before us; and the correctness of the statement is placed beyond a doubt, by the appearance of her verses as such in the periodical publications of the year in which they were written.

According to Miss Seward's account, it was the perusal of her lines that suggested the idea of a great poem 'on the Linnean system.' The composition of it was begun very soon afterwards, but advanced so slowly, that ten years elapsed before the date of publication. By 'an inversion of all custom,' the second part was first given to the world in 1789; from a consciousness, as Miss Seward supposes, that, in a new and unusual style of poetry, 'the Loves of the Plants' would be more likely to secure immediate popularity, than the bolder conceptions, and still more splendid imagery of 'the Economy of Vegetation.'

The long and elaborate analyses of these poems, which Miss Seward has thought fit to give, will, by many readers, be considered as prolix and uninteresting. They are certainly disproportioned to the bulk and nature of her work, if a work so immethodical and desultory can be tried by ordinary rules; but at the same time they will be found interspersed with many critical

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amongst his own family, proofs of strong sensibility at the time, and of succeeding regard to the memory of his son, which he seemed to have a pride in concealing from the world. In justice to his memory, she is desirous to correct the misinformation she had received, and will therefore be obliged to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review to notice the circumstance in the criticisms of the book, since, unless a second edition should be called for, she has no means so effectual of counteracting the mistake.'

remarks, which display great justness of poetical taste and feeling.

We have* formerly had occasion, at sufficient length, to state our conceptions of the peculiar character and merit of Dr. Darwin's poetry; and at present it is not our intention to resume the subject in the point of view under which it was then considered. In truth, the opinions entertained by his biographer, and by those whose criticisms she has adopted, coincide so nearly with those which we had expressed, that there is nothing to justify or provoke a farther discussion. In one respect, however, we feel ourselves compelled to dissent from an opinion entertained by most of the admirers of Dr. Darwin, and by none more firmly than Miss Seward. 'One extraordinary, and in a poet of so much genius, unprecedented, instance of plagiarism excepted,' says Miss Seward, 'not one great poet of England is more *original* than Darwin. His design, his ideas, his style, his manner, are wholly his own.'

If it were asked in what chiefly consists the originality of manner which is supposed to characterise the new Darwinian school of English poetry, it would probably be answered, in the *first* place, that the general design of clothing the philosophy of natural history in the gay attire, and with all the higher graces of poetry, was novel, at least in any English poet; in the *second* place, that his picturesque style of poetical description, sustained by bold personifications and metaphors, addressed exclusively to the eye, is, in a great degree at least, his own; and, *lastly*, that, in the loftiness of his laboured and inverted diction, and in the stately march of his highly polished versification, there are peculiarities of manner which it may be difficult to describe, but which must at once be felt as distinguishing him widely from his great predecessors in English poetry.

It is not our intention to arraign Dr. Darwin of literary depredation on the property of others, of the felonious kind complained of so justly by Miss Seward; nor shall we venture dogmatically to assert that this peculiar manner to which he has bequeathed his name, was formed on a servile imitation of any existing model. It is true, notwithstanding, that for nearly seventy years there has existed, in obscurity and neglect, a philosophical poem in the English language, stamped incontrovertibly with all those peculiar characters of the *Darwinian school* to which we have alluded. It is that obscurity and neglect alone which could have exempted Dr. Darwin from the charge of hav-

* Review, No. IV. Art. XX.

ing imitated an unsuccessful original; and although it may possibly be true that the poem in question was unknown to him, it will at least become necessary hereafter to date the origin of the *school* at an earlier period.

The poem was published* anonymously in the year 1735; and of its author we have not obtained any information. It is entitled 'Universal Beauty;' and its general object is an exposition of whatever is beautiful in the plan and economy of the universe in all its parts. In the prosecution of this object, the author takes a very wide compass; and the general laws which bind the planetary system, the physical laws which peculiarly regulate the globe which we inhabit, the phenomena and provisions of the mineral, the vegetable, and the animal kingdoms, are all brought under poetical review; and the more remote and fanciful allusions of the text are illustrated by a series of philosophical notes. That the resemblance does not stop here, but extends still more strikingly to the other characteristic peculiarities of 'the Darwinian manner,' may be most effectually illustrated by a few extracts, taken at random.

In the third part, which contains a 'survey of vegetable nature,' after tracing the analogy of animal and vegetable life, we have the following lines, in illustration of 'the various provisions of nature, for protecting and supporting the indigent, as the strawberry, cinque-foil, &c.; and supporting the feeble, as the vine, bryony, ivy, &c.; and thus equally propagating and spreading a universality of delights, pleasures, and enjoyments.'

'Thus mantling snug beneath a verdant veil,
The creepers draw their horizontal trail;
Wide o'er the bank the plantal reptile bends;
Adown its stem, the rooty fringe depends,
The feeble boughs with anch'ring safety binds,
Nor leaves precarious to insulting winds;
The tendrils next of slender, helpless size,
Ascendant thro' luxurious pamp'ring rise;
Kind nature soothes their innocence of pride,
While buoy'd aloft the flow'ring wantons ride,
With fond adhesion round the cedar cling,
And wreathing, circulate their am'rous ring,
Sublime, with winding maturation grow,
And clench'd retentive gripe the topmost bough;
Here climb direct the ministerial rock,
And clasping firm, its steepy fragments lock;

* 'Universal Beauty, a Poem.' London: J. Wilcox. 1735. Folio. It consists of six parts, published successively, containing each about 400 lines.

Or various, with agglutinating guile,
Cement tenacious to some neighb'ring pile;
Investing green, some fabric here ascend,
And clust'ring o'er its pinnacles depend.'

Part III. l. 271—290.

In allusion to those plants which are supposed to obey the influence of the sun and moon, we find the following lines.

'Here, winding to the Sun's magnetic ray,
The solar plants adore the Lord of Day;
With Persian rites idolatrous incline,
And worship towards his consecrated shrine;
By south, from east to west, obsequious turn,
And mov'd with sympathetic ardours burn.
To these adverse, the Lunar sects dissent,
With convolution of opposed bent;
From west to east by equal influence tend,
And towards the Moon's attractive crescence bend;
There nightly worship with Sidonian zeal,
And Queen of Heaven, Astarte's idol hail.'

Part III. l. 313—324.

We regret that our limits do not admit of the author's description (Part IV. l. 120—204.) of the circulation of the blood in animals, illustrated by a picturesque analogy to the motions of the fluid parts of the globe. The following lines, taken from Part V. refer to that species of insects which, like the beetle, 'by a surprising machinery of little springs and hinges, erect the smooth covering of their backs, and unfolding their wings that were most neatly disposed within their cases, prepare for flight.'

'Or who a two-fold apparatus share,
Natives of earth, and habitants of air,
Like warriors stride oppressed with shining mail,
But furl'd beneath, their silken pennons veil.
Deceived our fellow reptile we admire
His bright endorsement and compact attire,
When lo! the latent springs of motion play,
And rising lids disclose the rich inlay;
The tissu'd wing its folded membrane frees,
And with blyth quavers fans the gathering breeze;
Elate tow'rds heaven the beauteous wonder flies,
And leaves the mortal wrapt in deep surprise.

So when the guide led Tobit's youthful heir,
Elect to win the seven times widow'd fair,
Th' angelic form, conceal'd in human guise,
Deceiv'd the search of his associate's eyes;
Till swift each charm bursts forth like issuing flame,
And circling rays confess his heavenly frame:

The zodiac round his waste divinely turns,
And waving radiance o'er his plumage burns;
In awful transports rapt, the youth admires,
While light from earth the dazzling shape aspires.'

Part V. l. 127—148.

We cannot refrain from giving a part of this writer's description of the creation of those planetary systems of which the universe is composed. It is a favourite topic with both poets.

'Swift roll'd the spheres to their appointed place,
Jocund through heaven to run the various race;
Orb within orb in living circlets turn,
And central suns through every system burn;
Revolving planets on their gods attend,
And towards each sun with awful reverence bend;
Still towards the loved enlivening beam they wheel,
And pant and tremble like the amorous steel.
They spring, they revel in the blaze of day,
Bathe in the golden stream, and drink the orient ray;
Their blithe satellites with lively glance
(Celestial equipage) around them dance;
All, distance due, and beauteous order keep,
And spinning soft, upon their centres sleep.'

Part I. l. 91—104.

Similar passages might easily be accumulated, but these may serve as a specimen of the peculiar manner of this forgotten poet. Of its resemblance to that of Dr. Darwin, we shall leave our readers to judge. That there are obvious shades of difference, we have no hesitation to admit; nor do we call in question the decided superiority of the latter. The poem of 'Universal Beauty' is indeed extremely unequal: passages occur which are worthy of Sir Richard Blackmore; and in others there may be discovered an unsuccessful effort to imitate the fashionable antithetic manner of Pope. Whether or not the poetry of Darwin would, in the age of Pope, have incurred the same hazard of neglect with that of the writer whom we have ventured to exhibit as his prototype, we shall not presume to conjecture.

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APPENDIX.

STATEMENT OF FACTS RESPECTING THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU'S LETTERS.

IN our Review of the 'Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,' (No. IV. p. 512.), we laid before our readers the account given by Mr. Dallaway of the first publication of these celebrated Letters. It is remote from our plan to enter into controversy on a subject of this nature; yet we cannot refuse a place to the statement of facts contained in the following letter from Miss Sowden, the daughter of the very respectable clergyman alluded to by Mr. Dallaway.

'TO THE EDITOR OF THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.'

'SIR, BATH, *January* 31, 1804.

'As you have noticed the new edition of 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's Works,' in your Review No. IV., and there quoted a strange story given by the editor as a recent and curious discovery; you will, I hope, permit me, through the medium of your widely circulating Journal, to pronounce it an idle fabrication, as void of foundation as of probability;—no person having ever been sent by the late Countess of Bute to my Father, and no one having ever imposed on

him, by stealing a copy of the MS. in his possession. So far is this last assertion from being true, that, though he lived twenty years after their publication, he never had the smallest clue with which to trace the by-way path through which they got into print.

'The following are facts, which I have too frequently heard repeated by my father, not to be able to state accurately.

'At the close of the year 1761, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, passing through Holland in her way to this country, was detained many weeks at Rotterdam by a severe frost. My father was one of a few literary men, who, after paying his respects, frequently repeated his visits to her Ladyship. In one of these visits, Lady W. M. lent him these celebrated letters for his perusal; and on his returning them, expressed a great desire of having a fair copy taken, mixed with some fears of confiding them to any one of whose probity she was not previously well assured. My father, considering this as an indirect mode of application to himself, offered faithfully to transcribe and return the original and copy to her Ladyship as soon as completed. She gladly accepted this proposal in part; but added, that the MS. in her own handwriting should be his, and at his entire disposal.

'My father, however, reflected that a gift of that magnitude might draw after it suspicions unfavourable to himself; and on this account declined its acceptance. Upon which her Ladyship said, 'If that be all, Mr. Sowden, I will soon make you easy;' and taking her pen, wrote on the cover the words contained in the *fac-simile*.

'The copy was not completed when Lady M. W. M. died; and no sooner was the event known to my father, than he prepared a letter for the Countess of Bute, to inform her of the MS. in his hands, and of his intention to publish it; not thinking it correct to proceed otherways. But before this letter could be despatched, he received one from her Ladyship, stating, that by some letters of his, which she had found among the papers of the deceased, she perceived there were such MSS. in his hands; which she requested might be transmitted to her without delay. The answer informed her Ladyship, that though she was right as to the fact, she misapprehended the tenure by which he held those letters; which was not as a deposit, but as a gift: In proof of which, he inclosed a copy of the deed of gift. Still her Ladyship persisted in her desire to have them; and, in her reply, asked, '*What he must have for them?*' But my father, little accustomed to make bargains, sent them, original and copy, contrary to the advice of some of his mercantile friends, to Lady Bute, without stipulating for terms; saying, he made no difficulty of relying on her Ladyship's generosity.

'Several weeks now elapsed, and he heard no more. At length, he was informed that an order was given to her banker to pay him three hundred pounds. At this juncture, the work was advertised—and the order stopped.

'When my father saw the work announced in the public papers, he concluded it came from the family; while Lady Bute had doubtless,

on her part, suspicions unfavourable to him. These, however, were soon done away, and the three hundred pounds paid.

'About a dozen years since, a gentleman, to whom I had mentioned the above particulars, informed me, with an air of confidence which inclined me to credit his narrative, 'that the Countess of Bute had entrusted this MS. to a noble Duke, now no more, for his opinion, previous to its being made public. His Grace was at that time connected with a gentleman (from whom he afterwards saw reason to disengage himself), whose general character it was, through life, to be both querulous and necessitous, though by no means deficient in understanding or talents. To his address on the one hand, and small scrupulosity on the other, it was said, the public owed the first appearance of these Letters, for which he, no doubt, received a considerable remuneration.'—But whether this be, or be not, as was related in the preceding statement, I am perfectly certain there is no error; and the facts it contains are as well known to one of the most respectable characters now living, as to myself;—I mean the Reverend Dr. A. Maclaine, who was at that time resident at the Hague, and is now at Bath.

'Hoping this may obtain an early attention,

'I remain, Sir,

'Your very humble Servant,

'HANNAH SOWDEN.'